BYZANTION

REVUE INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

fondée en 1924

par Paul GRAINDOR et Henri GRÉGOIRE

TOME LXVIII
(1998)

Fascicule 1

HOMMAGE À LA MÉMOIRE DE

Jules LABARBE

Publié avec l'aide financière du Ministère de l'Éducation, de la Recherche et de la Formation de la Communauté française et de la Fondation Universitaire de Belgique

BRUXELLES
1998

IN MEMORIAM

Jules Auguste LABARBE

(12 février 1920-7 août 1997)

ABRÉVIATIONS AUTORISÉES

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AB	*Analecta bollandiana*
ACO	E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
AHR	*The American Historical Review*
ASP	*American Journal of Philology*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
B-NJ	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*
Bsl.	*Bzantinoslavica*
Byz.	*Byzantion*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EO	*Echos d'Orient*
FHG	C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecarum*
GOThR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JG	I. et P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I-VIII, Athènes, 1931.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖs	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistischen Gesellschaft*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*

Mansi	J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum noya et amplissima collectio.*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MM	F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata medii aevi*, Vindobonae, 1860-1890.
NE	*Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford, 1991
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RH	*Revue Historique*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
ROC	*Revue d'Orient Chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
Syntagma	G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athènes, 1852-1859.
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennink*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
Zbor.	*Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta Srpska Akademija Narodna*

C'était toujours un grand bonheur que de s'entretenir avec lui, soit par téléphone soit lors d'une entrevue, fortuite ou non. Le 26 juin, il avait dû décliner deux engagements auxquels il accordait du prix, l'un était une cérémonie de mariage chez un de ses élèves, l'autre, une commémoration de Franz Cumont où il devait représenter à Rome la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Même s'il ne laissait percer aucune inquiétude, l'événement était assez inhabituel pour que l'on s'interrogeât. La situation ne s'améliora pas en juillet, où il fut hospitalisé pendant une semaine à Soignies. C'est à Grivegnée qu'il nous a quittés, entouré de ses enfants et petits-enfants, le 7 août, sur le coup de midi.

Jules Labarbe était né à Arlon dans un milieu modeste. Il resta toujours attaché à la ville et à la région. L'exemple de ses parents détermina son orientation vers la haute culture et la recherche intellectuelle. À l'Athénée local, il se forma sur les mêmes bancs que M. E. H. Betz, qu'il allait retrouver plus tard dans des postes à hautes responsabilités. Au sortir de ses classes, il fit avec brio des études de philologie classique à l'Université de Liège, où son frère lui avait déjà frayé la voie. Ce fut là qu'il rencontra des maîtres illustres, Armand Delatte, Marie Delcourt, Jean Hubaux et Albert Severyns notamment, mais aussi des hommes, comme Paul Moraux ou Omer Ballériaux, avec qui, en dépit des différends ou des aléas, il noua des amitiés solides.

En 1941, l'heure n'était pas favorable. Pendant deux ans (1941-1943), il travailla d'abord en qualité de collaborateur scientifique attaché par le Fonds national de la recherche scientifique près la Bibliothèque de l'Université, puis comme Aspirant du F.N.R.S. (1943-1944), avant d'entrer dans les cadres de l'Université. Il était assistant (1944-1950) lorsqu'il soutint en 1946 sa thèse de doctorat sur *Anacréon de Téos*, «un des plus beaux travaux de philologie qui soient», comme le proclamait un de ses collègues, Gilbert François. Il devait rester profondément amoureux du poète à qui il avait consacré ses premières recherches. Ce fut là qu'il trouva la matière de maints travaux ultérieurs, notamment sur Polycrate, la tyrannie et la lyrique archaïque. Ses étudiants savent avec quelle maestria il rendait en français la substance des textes : au contact du vieux poète, il avait forgé sa méthodologie de la traduction. Les circonstances l'empêchèrent de publier l'Anacréon qui manque toujours dans le monde francophone. Il disait parfois, avec une amertume teintée d'ironie : en définitive, je n'ai jamais fait ce que j'aurais aimé. L'homme de devoir est tout entier derrière ces mots, mais aussi

sans doute un regret pour le grand oeuvre jamais oublié. Déjà en effet, il se tournait vers d'autres horizons : en 1949, il publiait *L'Homère de Platon*, sa thèse d'agrégation de l'enseignement supérieur, un livre qui reste, en dépit des années, un modèle pour les études de citations. En qualité de membre étranger, il séjourna pendant quatre années (1950-1953) à l'École française d'archéologie d'Athènes, où sa carrière prit une autre tournure. Le philologue exceptionnel s'y mua en historien et en épigraphiste de première force. Il en revint avec, sous le bras, la substance d'un livre nouveau, *La loi navale de Thémistocle*, qui asseyait définitivement son autorité scientifique. De retour à Liège, il fut successivement agrégé près la Faculté (1953-1959), chargé de cours (1959-1963) et enfin professeur ordinaire, dans un domaine défini comme chaire de «langue, littérature et histoire du monde grec». On peut malaisément imaginer champ plus vaste : la critique historique appliquée au monde grec, les institutions, politiques et religieuses, l'épigraphie, les exercices philologiques et les notions d'histoire des littératures grecque et latine, sans compter l'explication d'auteurs grecs, le grec byzantin et le grec moderne, dont il avait une connaissance incomparable. Dans la veine de *La loi navale*, il donna encore une magistrale introduction à la publication des fouilles belges de Thorikos : *Thorikos. Les testimonia*, Gand, 1977. Autant pour le fond que pour la forme, les publications qu'il nous laisse restent des modèles où la rigueur scientifique ne peut jamais être prise en défaut. En citant Platon, M. Labarbe soutenait avec raison «que les grosses pierres ne peuvent bien tenir sans les petites». Il aimait à dire aussi que l'on ne doit prendre la plume que quand on a vraiment du neuf à apporter. Aussi peut-on être surpris par la diversité et les dimensions de son oeuvre. Qu'il s'agît des dernières paroles de Socrate ou de *La physiologie du sycophante*, il n'avait pas son pareil pour déceler le maillon faible d'une démonstration, réunir la documentation nécessaire, en interrogeant toutes les branches du savoir et des techniques, et pour offrir enfin la preuve qui manquait. Sans la moindre ostentation, il aimait relever les défis.

Malgré des charges écrasantes, M. Labarbe exerça son métier de professeur avec un zèle dont peuvent témoigner des générations d'étudiants. Certes, l'examinateur était exigeant, pointilleux, très attentif à l'indispensable bibliographie, mais d'une impeccable impartialité ; d'humeur égale, il recevait toujours son hôte avec une parfaite courtoisie et pratiquait avec maîtrise l'art de l'écoute. C'était parfois une rude

école que la sienne, mais aussi point de plus formatrice : avec une patience inlassable, il savait traquer la moindre obscurité ou imprécision dans la formulation, sans jamais vouloir imposer la sienne, jusqu'à ce que la conversation fît jaillir la lumière. Quelle que fût la difficulté ou l'austérité des sujets débattus, il détendait à point nommé l'atmosphère par un sourire, un jeu de mots, une citation — il en avait en réserve un lot inépuisable — ou une anecdote. Quand l'heure était à la fête et que des étudiants taquinaient gentiment leurs professeurs, il entrait volontiers dans le jeu, un verre à la main. Il n'était pas le dernier à chanter, à danser et à créer une ambiance de franche gaieté. La polyvalence et la richesse de ses enseignements allaient faire lever de belles vocations de chercheurs. Nombre de ses élèves enseignent à leur tour aujourd'hui dans des universités canadiennes, suisses, françaises et belges. Il n'en était point qui ne revissent leur maître avec la plus chaleureuse reconnaissance. L'urbanité de l'homme allait bien le servir dans les autres missions qui allaient lui être confiées.

À l'Université de Liège, il a longtemps exercé des mandats considérables. Non seulement, il a maintes fois présidé au destin de la Section des Sciences de l'Antiquité, mais surtout, pendant quatorze ans, il a été doyen de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres (1966-1980), qu'il a également représentée au Conseil d'administration (1966-1981). Ce n'était point là une sinécure, d'autant moins que les moments difficiles ne manquèrent pas durant la période. Qu'il suffise de rappeler, par exemple, la réforme générale des cours, les événements de mai 1968, la création de la section des Arts et Sciences de la Communication. Dans tous les cas, M. Labarbe sut agir avec souplesse et ouverture, mais sans perdre le souci des us et traditions de la Faculté. La confiance que lui témoignaient ses collègues avait été judicieusement placée. Malgré le temps que lui prenait l'examen de volumineux dossiers fort abstrus, il s'acquitta à merveille des tâches que lui imposaient les circonstances, sans se départir de la belle humeur qui était la sienne. Ses mérites exceptionnels lui valurent aussi d'autres distinctions prestigieuses. Il fut invité à prendre part aux Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt, à Genève, et surtout, il fut élu membre de la classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique, qu'il présida en 1982. Le Bulletin atteste l'activité qu'il y déploya sous la forme soit de multiples rapports soit de contributions originales.

Pendant plus de trente ans (à partir de 1965), il fit partie du comité de rédaction de *L'Antiquité Classique*, dont la partie «articles» lui

revenait. Là encore, la revue lui doit beaucoup de son rayonnement. Chaque article faisait l'objet d'une relecture diligente et attentive, où il ne laissait rien passer d'inexact ou de peu clair. Dans certains cas, c'était à peine s'il ne le réécrivait pas lui-même, sans rien imposer pourtant qui fût de son cru, mais en respectant scrupuleusement la pensée de l'auteur. Faute de temps, il n'a donné à *Byzantion* que des contributions trop rares. Pourtant, il avait incontestablement sa place parmi les byzantinistes belges, tant il connaissait admirablement la langue grecque de toutes les époques. À ce titre, il fut appelé à entrer dans le Conseil d'administration de la revue, où ses talents de médiateur et d'organisateur furent aussitôt reconnus et appréciés.

Pourtant, les épreuves ne lui manquèrent pas. L'année 1985 en particulier fut à marquer d'une pierre noire. Non seulement elle fut celle de la retraite sur le plan professionnel, mais surtout de la disparition brusque de son épouse avec qui il formait un couple et une famille très unis. Après quelques temps, avec une dignité rare, il sut prendre les mesures nécessaires, s'organiser un autre mode de vie et surmonter son immense chagrin. Il retrouva le chemin des bibliothèques, le courage d'assister à des conférences ou d'en donner, de prendre part à des colloques, de publier articles ou comptes rendus et de participer à des entreprises collectives, comme la bibliographie *Mentor* sur la religion grecque.

M. Labarbe n'aimait rien tant qu'un bon repas entre amis. C'était en pareilles circonstances que le charme de l'homme se manifestait en toute liberté, mais aussi la richesse et la diversité de sa culture. Sa conversation avait le pétillant d'un Champagne de haute cuvée. La littérature était souvent au menu, mais aussi le théâtre et surtout le cinéma dont il avait une connaissance extraordinairement étendue et précise. Avec dérision, il disait que c'était l'art qu'il goûtait le plus. Cet hiver, il m'avait dit par téléphone : «N'oubliez pas que nous avons à faire bientôt un balthasar à trois en ville». J'avais répondu en citant Daniel : «Sous réserve qu'il n'y ait point de mane, thecel, pharès ». Dieu en a décidé autrement. Au revoir, cher et bon Maître, nous ne vous oublierons jamais.

Université de Fribourg, Suisse. Jacques SCHAMP.

Bibliographie de Jules Labarbe

En tête des *Stemmata. Mélanges de philologie, d'histoire et d'archéologie grecques* qu'avaient en 1987 publiés en son honneur J. Servais (†), T. Hackens (†) et Brigitte Servais-Soyer, M. Léon Lacroix avait donné une bibliographie arrêtée à 1985 (pp. VII-XVI). On se contentera de répertorier ici les travaux postérieurs à cette date.

1986

Le manteau de Syloson, dans *Civiltà classica e cristiana*, 7, 1986, p. 7-27.
C.r. : A. J. PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets and their Times*, dans *A.C.*, 55, 1986, p. 388-390.
C.r. : D. DONNET, *Sophocle, Philoctète, Ibidem*, p. 401-402.
C.r. : Carla FERRETTO, *La città dissipatrice. Studi sull'* excursus *del libro decimo dei* Philippika *di Teopompo, Ibidem*, p. 420-421.
C.r. : P. CARLIER, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre, Ibidem*, p. 509-511.

1987

Notice sur Albert Severyns, dans *Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, p. 149-189.
C.r. : M. H. HANSEN, *Demography and Democracy. The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C.*, dans *A.C.*, 55, 1987, p. 449-450.
C.r. : P. FAURE, *Alexandre, Ibidem* p. 451-452.
C.r. : S. BAUD-BOVY, *Essai sur la chanson populaire grecque, Ibidem*, p. 581-582.
C.r. : J. COATES-S. MC GRAIL (édd.), *The Greek Trireme of the 5th Century B.C. Discussion of a projected reconstruction, Ibidem*, p. 538-539.

1988

Les mulets des Mysiens, dans *A.C.*, 57, 1988, p. 40-55.
C.r. : R. BÖHME, *Die verkannte Muse. Dichtersprache und geistige Tradition des Parmenides, Ibidem*, p. 323-325.
C.r. : L. BRACCESI (éd.), *Tre studi su Temistocle, Ibidem*, p. 502-504.

1989

Conjectures sur l'objet d'une conjecture (Théognis, 127), dans *Architecture et poésie dans le monde grec. Hommage à Georges ROUX*, Lyon-Paris, 1989, p. 163-169.

*Belgique * La philologie grecque et latine*, dans *La filologia greca e latina nel secolo XX*. Atti del Congresso delle Ricerche, 17-21 septembre 1984, II, Pise, 1989, p. 763-788.

1990

Dernières paroles d'anciens Grecs, dernières paroles de Socrate, dans *B.A.B.*, 6e série, 1, 6-9, 1990, p. 189-222.

Quel Critias dans le Timée *et le* Critias *de Platon* ?, dans *Sacris Erudiri*, 31, 1989-1990, p. 239-255.

C.r. : A. BERNABÉ, *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta*. Pars I, dans *A.C.*, 59, 1990, p. 266-268.

C.r. : M. DAVIES, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Ibidem*, p. 268-269.

C.r. : D. A. CAMPBELL, *Greek Lyric*. II. *Anacreon, Anacreontea, Choral Lyric from Olympus to Alcman, Ibidem*, p. 269-270.

C.r. : E. WHEELER, *Stratagem and the Vocabulary of Military Trickery, Ibidem*, p. 416-417.

C.r. : Rosalind THOMAS, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens, Ibidem*, p. 478-479.

1991

Survie de l'oralité dans la Grèce archaïque, dans Cl. BAURAIN, Corinne BONNET et Véronique KRINGS (édd.), *Phoinikeia Grammata. Lire et écrire en Méditerranée*. Collection d'Études Classiques, VI, p. 499-531.

Anomalies dans le Ménexène *de Platon*, dans *A.C.*, p. 89-101.

C.r. : P. CARLIER, *Démosthène, Ibidem*, p. 358-360.

1992

Sur une épitaphe de Cos, dans *A.C.*, 61, 1992, p. 226-231.

Identification d'une noctambule (Théognis, 861-864), dans *Serta Leodiensia Secunda. Mélanges publiés par les Classiques de Liège à l'occasion du 175e anniversaire de l'Université*, C.I.P.L., 1992, p. 237-245.

C.r. : S. V. TRACY, *The Story of the Odyssey, Ibidem*, p. 312-314.

C.r. : Effie N. COUGHANOWR, *Herodoti Vita Homeri, Ibidem*, p. 332-333.

C.r. : Ch. ULF, *Die homerische Gesellschaft. Materialien zur analytische Beschreibung und historischen Lokalisierung, Ibidem*, p. 557-558.

C.r. : L. PICCIRELLI, *Efialte, Ibidem*, p. 563-564.

1993

Une prière de Théognis (11-14), dans *A.C.*, 62, 1993, p. 23-33.

C.r. : G. CORTASSA-Enrica CULASSO GASTALDI, *Le lettere di Temistocle* I-II, *Ibidem*, p. 285-287.

1994

Du bon usage de l'oracle de Delphes, dans *Kernos*, 7, 1994, p. 219-230.
Parmentier, dans *Nouvelle Biographie Nationale*, 3, Bruxelles, p. 271-273.
Glanville Downey (1908-1991), dans *B.A.B.*, 6e série, 5, 6-9, 1994, p. 493-500.
Socrate épique dans le Phèdre *de Platon*, dans *A.C.*, 63, 1994, p. 225-230.
C.r. : M. A. Flower-M. Toher (édd.), *Georgica. Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell, Ibidem*, p. 531-533.
C.r. : Rosalind Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece, Ibidem*, p. 331-332.
C.r. : Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens, Ibidem*, p. 332.

1995

Roland Crahay (avec M.-A. Arnould et Marie-Thérèse Isaac), dans *Annuaire* de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, p. 158-164.
Une allocation pour les filles d'Aristide, dans *A.C.*, 64, 1995, p. 1-14.
C.r. : E. Erbse, *Studien zum Verständnis Herodots, Ibidem*, p. 283-284.
C.r. : V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens, Ibidem*, p. 393-394.

1996

Physiologie du sycophante, dans *B.A.B.*, 6e s., 1996, p. 143-171.

1997

Les compagnes de Socrate, dans *A.C.*, 66, 1997.

THE REIGN OF ARCADIUS IN EUNAPIUS' *HISTORIES*

Eunapius of Sardis was a pagan Greek sophist, philosopher and historian who lived from A.D. 347 until c. 414 (1). He is a prime example of the Hellenic reaction against the political, social, economic and religious changes of the Fourth Century, for he was virulently opposed to the Constantinian and Theodosian regimes.

Although the *Histories* have not survived, it is clear from their fragments and from the epitome by the Byzantine bureaucrat, Zosimus (2), that Eunapius wrote pagan propaganda in the guise of history. He blamed the decline of the Roman Empire on its turning away from traditional paganism, and thus his two principal villains were Constantine and Theodosius ; his hero was, of course, Julian the Apostate (3). It is neither unfair nor misleading to say that today his work would be classified as historical fiction or docudrama.

One of the more interesting aspects of the current research on truthfulness in ancient historiography is the attempt to determine the limits which an ancient author placed on his fictionalizing of history (4). In the earlier books of the *Histories* how much Eunapius manipulated history was influenced by such factors as the pagan historical tradition, and his estimate of the length and accuracy of his readers' memories (5).

(1) R. J. PENELLA, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D.*, Leeds, 1990, pp. 2-4.

(2) It is now generally agreed that ZOSIMUS is a reliable guide to the content of EUNAPIUS' *Histories* :

PHOTIUS, *Bibliothec*a, cod. 98.

R. C. BLOCKLEY, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire* I, Liverpool, 1981, p. 2.

F. PASCHOUD, *Zosime Histoire Nouvelle* III2, Paris, 1989, pp. 82-84.

(3) EUNAPIUS *frr.* 1 and 8 dans MULLER, *FHG* IV. PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 77.

(4) E.g. C. B. R. PELLING, *Truth and Fiction in Plutarch's Lives*, dans *Antonine Literature*, ed. D. A. RUSSELL, Oxford, 1990, pp. 19-52.

(5) Three illustrative examples are Constantine's conversion to Christianity, the siege of Nisibis, and the Battle of the Frigidus. See, respectively :

PASCHOUD, *Zosime* I, 1971, (n. 39), pp. 219-224.

D. F. BUCK, *Some Distortions in Eunapius' Account of Julian the Apostate*, dans *Ancient History Bulletin*, 4 (1990), pp. 114-5.

This article examines Eunapius' account of the reign of Arcadius from the death of Theodosius in 395 until 404 when the *Histories* ended (6), in order to discover to what extent he was willing and able to impose his own interpretation upon very recent events which were familiar to his readers.

The reign of Arcadius is a natural unit for examination since, as Eunapius himself declared, the *Histories* were regnal in structure (*fr.* 1). However, Eunapius composed his treatment of this reign differently from the previous ones. The emperors before Arcadius had been active rulers who served not only as a chronological framework for recording events, but were themselves the principal subjects of Eunapius' narrative. Both Arcadius and Honorius, however, were passive figureheads under the control of a succession of powerful ministers (7) and Eunapius consequently wrote the history of Arcadius' reign as the history of the effective rulers of the Eastern Empire.

Eunapius thus began with the Praefectus Praetorio Rufinus (8) who is the subject of several dramatic episodes preserved by Zosimus, the first of which involves a certain Lucian (V,2,1-4). One of the major sources of Rufinus' wealth was the sale of offices (V,1,2), and Zosimus tells how Lucian won his favour by giving him his most valuable possessions. Despite having bought his office, Lucian, according to Zosimus, proved to be a model governor who was cruelly executed by Rufinus because he denied an improper request from Eucher, Arcadius' uncle (9). Although these basic facts are probably true, this story has been written in such a way as to blacken Rufinus by contrasting him with the lily-white Lucian.

Otto Seeck saw that all of the events narrated by Zosimus cannot have occurred in the short time between Theodosius' death and Rufinus' assassination. Since Rufinus is known to have been in Antioch in 393, Seeck assigns Lucian's demise to that year, not 395, its dramatic date

D. F. BUCK, *Eunapius of Sardis and Theodosius the Great*, dans *Byz.*, 58 (1988), pp. 49-50.

(6) PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 77.

(7) A. CAMERON, Jacqueline LONG, Lee SHERRY, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993, pp. 3-4. Hereafter cited as CAMERON, *B & P.*

(8) *PLRE* I s.v. Flavius Rufinus 18.

(9) PASCHOUD, *Zosime* III 1, 1986, n. 2, p. 78 : Eucher was really Theodosius' uncle. Hereafter cited as PASCHOUD, n. 00, p. 00.

in Zosimus' version ([10]). This compression may well have been a deliberate attempt by Eunapius to increase the impact of his narrative.

Seeck also argues persuasively that Libanius' Lucian, the consularis Syriae of 388, was the same man as Zosimus' Lucian, the comes Orientis of 393 (or 395) ([11]). In addition to the identity of name and the fact that both were young, Libanius' Lucian was Christian, as Zosimus' must have been, since he was the son of the Christian P.P.O. Galliarum, Florentius, who had served under Julian in Gaul. Although at first glance it may seem that Zosimus' model governor cannot have been the same Lucian whom Libanius attacked in *Or.* 56 and who was so unpopular that Antioch sent an official embassy to request his recall, the two were actually very similar in their strictly legalistic approach to administration and their refusal to pander to the pride of an emperor's uncle or a municipal aristocrat. Allowance must also be made for the fact that Libanius and Zosimus had very different purposes in writing about Lucian which would have coloured their presentation of him. Moreover, it is quite possible that Rufinus would have appointed as governor someone who had been dismissed by Tatian, for the two were bitter enemies. Thus there is good reason to conclude that the two Lucians were one and the same ([12]), and that Eunapius deliberately suppressed Lucian's term as consularis Syriae in order to heighten the contrast between Rufinus and his innocent and upstanding victim. Since Eunapius knew that Lucian's father was the P.P.O. Galliarum, Florentius, he ought to have known about Lucian's previous, and notorious, governorship. Moreover, it is entirely possible that Eunapius had read Libanius' *Or.* 56 since he was familiar with many of his writings, both letters and speeches (*VS* 496).

The next episode revolves around Rufinus' desire to be emperor, or at least to be Arcadius' colleague. This idea is not unique to Eunapius, for Claudian several times attributes this ambition to Rufinus ([13]). It first appears in Zosimus when Theodosius tells Promotus that, if he does not cease to be jealous of Rufinus, he will see Rufinus emperor

(10) O. SEECK, *Libanius gegen Lucianus*, dans *Libanios*, ed. G. FATOUROS and T. KRISCHER, *Wege der Forschung* 621, Darmstadt, 1983, 36-7 (= *Rheinisches Museum*, 73 (1920), pp. 84-101).

(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

(12) *Cf. PLRE* I s.v. Lucianus 6. PASCHOUD, n. 2, p. 77 is cautious, but gives no reasons why.

(13) CLAUDIAN, *In Rufinum*, II, ll. 295 ; 297-315 ; 346 ; 442.

(IV,51,2). Rufinus began to dream of being emperor after he had become very wealthy, and he tried to achieve his goal by marrying his daughter to Arcadius (V,1,4). Zosimus' account of Rufinus' attempt is lively and dramatic (V,3,1-5). Rufinus did not realize that he had been outmanoeuvred by the Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Eutropius until he saw the wedding procession from the imperial palace turn towards Promotus' house, not his, to collect Bauto's daughter, Eudoxia. Stilicho's success in marrying his daughter to Honorius is immediately contrasted with Rufinus' failure (V,4,1). Here, parallelism was more important than chronological exactitude, for Honorius did not marry Maria until three years later, towards the end of the winter of 398 ([14]).

Zosimus preserves the main outlines of Eunapius' account of the conflict between Rufinus and Stilicho (V,4-7). Their struggle began with Stilicho's attempt to extend his hegemony over the Eastern Empire and ended with Gainas' troops assassinating Rufinus on Stilicho's orders. Events are explained as the products of the personal desires of Stilicho, Rufinus and Alaric, chronology is distorted, and Stilicho's two expeditions to Greece are conflated in this propagandistic historical novelette. Although Claudian agrees with Zosimus that Rufinus tried to save himself from Stilicho by promoting barbarian attacks on the Empire ([15]), their accounts of Alaric's invasion of Greece and the events leading to Rufinus' assassination are fundamentally different, and it is futile to try to reconcile them.

According to Zosimus, Stilicho was the aggressor and his power rested on three bases. The first was the marriage of his daughter to Honorius. In order to be able to include the marriage as part of Stilicho's strategy to take over the Eastern Empire (V,4,2), as well as to contrast Stilicho's success at dynasty building with Rufinus' failure, Eunapius displaced it from 398 to 395. The second was that Stilicho commanded both the western and eastern field armies (V,4,2), and the third was his claim that the dying Theodosius had entrusted both his sons to him (V,4,3). All in all, it would have been a persuasive construct, for the eastern field army had remained in the West after the Battle of the Frigidus, Stilicho maintained that he had been given some kind of regency ([16]), and Eunapius' readers are unlikely to have known, let alone long remembered, the year of Honorius' marriage.

(14) PASCHOUD, n. 4, p. 82.
(15) CLAUDIAN, *In Rufinum*, II, 11 ff.
(16) PASCHOUD, n. 5, pp. 84 ff.

In his account of the Gothic invasion of Greece, Zosimus acknowledges that Alaric was already in revolt because he felt insulted at commanding only barbarian troops (V,5,4). Clearly Eunapius felt too constrained by the facts to pretend that Rufinus had caused Alaric to revolt, and thus limited himself to accusing Rufinus of encouraging Alaric to attack Greece. However, this claim is only an extrapolation from the fact that Alaric did invade Greece. According to Zosimus, Rufinus had begun by appointing his agents Mousonius and Gerontius, the former as proconsul of Greece and the latter as military commander (V,5,3). Since there was no effective resistance, Eunapius could plausibly allege that Mousonius and Gerontius had allowed Alaric free passage both at Thermopylae (V,5,5) and the Isthmus of Corinth (V,6,4). Yet, if Eunapius had possessed any real evidence, Zosimus would not say that Rufinus communicated with Alaric secretly (V,5,5), or that Alaric secretly sent messengers to Gerontius and Mousonius who then withdrew the garrison from Thermopylae (V,5,5-6) ([17]). As in all such cases, how could Eunapius have known what was secret ?

The purpose of Eunapius' version of Alaric's invasion of Greece was pagan propaganda. This is clear from Zosimus' statement that the story of the survival of Athens would recall to piety those who heard it (V,6,1). Eunapius may even have portrayed Alaric as a latter day Xerxes, given the prominence of Thermopylae, the Isthmus, and the classical cities of Greece in Zosimus' epitome ([18]). Eunapius was certainly not interested in giving an accurate record of Alaric's actions in Greece, as is clear from his combining Stilicho's two expeditions ([19]). Rather, he crafted a smoothly flowing, coherent piece of historical fiction which confirmed Athens as the pagan holy city protected by pagan providence, not only from human enemies, but also from natural disasters like the earthquake which Zosimus earlier described and recalls at this point (IV,18, and V,6,3).

Zosimus' account leaves no doubt that only a miracle could have saved Athens from Alaric. After emphasizing Gerontius' failure to resist and the devastation inflicted upon northern Greece, he declares that Athens was Alaric's main target. Because of Alaric's eagerness to reach Athens, he did not take time to besiege Thebes (V,5,7). Zosimus says

(17) PASCHOUD, n. 8, pp. 92-3 argues that the versions of this episode in the *Lives of the Sophists* and the *Histories* are complementary.

(18) Cf. PASCHOUD, n. 8, p. 94.

(19) A. CAMERON, *Claudian*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 474-7.

that Athens would have fallen to Alaric because it was too big to defend and because, if Alaric had seized the Peiraeus, he would quickly have starved the city into surrender (V,5,8). The speculation about the Peiraeus sounds suspiciously like what happened at Rome in 409 when Alaric captured Ostia ([20]). Thus there is an unavoidable comparison between the sack of Christian Rome and the saving of pagan Athens.

Zosimus declares that, when Alaric approached Athens, he was met by giant apparitions of Athena Promachos and Achilles and decided against attacking the city (V,6,1-2). Alaric's reaction is plausible, despite what Paschoud thinks, for even an unlettered Christian like him would have been deterred if he had seen such a vision ([21]). However, Athena and Achilles are the products of Eunapius' imagination, and Zosimus' claim that Alaric did not attack Athens is untrue. Indeed, the literary and archaeological evidence indicates that Alaric did sack Athens, or at least the part of the city which was outside the wall built in A.D. 267 ([22]). Certainly, what Zosimus says were gifts to Alaric are likely to have been a ransom (V,6,2) ([23]). It has been suggested that Alaric may have destroyed the Parthenon ([24]), but even Eunapius could not have denied the fact if Alaric had pillaged the whole of Athens, and it is best to assume that he was stopped by the wall of 267. Barbarians in general had little success against walled cities ([25]). Alaric himself bypassed Thebes, in part, because it was fortified (V,5,7), and found the cities of the Peloponnese easy prey because they were not (V,6,4). Thus Eunapius appears to have used the fact that the Acropolis and the inner city were spared as the basis for his exaggerated claims. In essence, a wall became a miracle.

Zosimus states that the crisis caused by Alaric's invasion of Greece led Rufinus to think once again that the empire was within his grasp (V,7,1). Although Rufinus' thoughts of empire are only the product of Eunapius' imagination, Paschoud is wrong to say that it is *chronologiquement impossible* for Rufinus to have reacted to Alaric's invasion of Greece ([26]). Because Alaric's invasion began in the summer of

(20) Cf. ZOSIMUS, VI,6,2.
(21) *Pace* PASCHOUD, n. 10, p. 97.
(22) PASCHOUD, n. 9, pp. 94 ff.
(23) PASCHOUD, n. 10, p. 97.
(24) A. FRANTZ, *Did Julian the Apostate Rebuild the Parthenon ?*, dans *American Journal of Archeology*, 83 (1979), pp. 397-8.
(25) *Cf.* P. HEATHER, *Goths and Romans 332-489*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 149 & 153.
(26) PASCHOUD, n. 12, p. 99.

395 ([27]), there was time for Rufinus to become aware of it before he was assassinated on 27 November, and thus Eunapius' construction of his motives is chronologically plausible.

In Zosimus' account, Stilicho came with an army to end the sufferings of Greece just when Rufinus thought that the tottering empire was within his grasp (V,7,1). Zosimus and Claudian agree that Stilicho had Alaric blockaded, and that the Goths escaped with their booty ([28]). Claudian, as Stilicho's panegyrist, never says how the Goths extricated themselves, but Zosimus lays the blame on Stilicho with a typically Eunapian charge of luxury (V,7,2)([29]). Because Stilicho lapsed into debauchery, his troops lost their discipline, began to plunder, and allowed the Goths to move into Epirus. Although the charge against Stilicho seems gratuitous, the indiscipline and unreliability of his army probably prevented him from destroying Alaric then, and on later occasions ([30]). However, Zosimus' version of these events is fundamentally flawed because Eunapius seems to have suppressed Stilicho's first expedition to Greece, and the details in Zosimus belong to his second campaign ([31]).

After Stilicho returned to Italy, having done nothing except add to the sufferings of Greece, he decided to have Rufinus assassinated. He thus persuaded Honorius to send troops to his brother on the pretext that they were needed to defend the eastern provinces (V,7,3) ([32]). It is quite possible that Eunapius extrapolated Stilicho's motive from the fact that Rufinus was killed by soldiers who came from the west. Certainly, the motive and action are congruent with Eunapius' characterization of Stilicho who is later said to have had his ally, Mascezel, thrown off a bridge and to have laughed as he drowned (V,11,5). Although Claudian and Zosimus give similar descriptions of the actual assassination, both noting that Rufinus' severed hand still asked for money (V,7,6 and *In Ruf.* II, 366 ff.), in the poet's nicely ironic version, Rufinus had requested the army as protection from Stilicho (*In Ruf.* II, 130 ff.).

(27) CAMERON, *B & P*, p. xi.

(28) ZOSIMUS, V,7,2. CAMERON, *Claudian*, pp. 169 ff., citing *IV Cons.*, 479 f. ; *Eutr.*, II, 199 f. ; *Get.*, 611 f.

(29) *Cf.* the comments on Constantine (II,33,1) and Theodosius (IV,27 ; 33 ; *frr.* 48 & 49).

(30) CAMERON, *Claudian*, pp. 169-72.

(31) CAMERON, *Claudian*, p. 159.

(32) CAMERON, *Claudian*, pp. 166-7 ignores the assassination motive.

The differences between Claudian and Zosimus are not confined to the question of who wanted the army to march to Constantinople. According to Claudian, Stilicho returned the eastern field army to Arcadius ([33]). Zosimus, however, never says that Stilicho sent back the eastern field army, and, indeed, such an act would not have been consistent with Eunapius' characterization of Stilicho as the aggressor. Rather, shortly after the death of Theodosius, Stilicho sent the worn-out troops to the east while keeping the good ones for himself (V,4,2), nor did he later dispatch an army to kill Rufinus, but only a few units (V,7,3-4). Thus the passages V,4,2 and V,7,3 are not a doublet, since they concern two quite different forces ([34]). Eunapius' readers would have found it exceedingly odd if he had said that Stilicho exchanged a whole army for the death of one man. It is much more convincing to have Rufinus assassinated by a few units whose departure would not have weakened Stilicho's forces any more than did his returning the useless troops after Theodosius' death.

It is also unwise to assume that John of Antioch (*fr.* 190) preserves details of Eunapius' account of Rufinus' assassination which are missing from Zosimus ([35]). Although there are strong similarities between John and Zosimus, Eunapius cannot be John's sole source even for the first half of the fragment since John says that Stilicho destroyed Alaric. Hence, there is no reason to assume that Eunapius is the source for John's statement that the army which Gainas led to Arcadius was the one which had fought first Eugenius and then the barbarians in Illyricum. Although John's information appears to be correct, it is totally at variance with the basic structure of Zosimus' account, and thus it cannot be what Eunapius wrote. Since the second half of *fr.* 190 derives from Socrates and, *pace* Paschoud, it is doubtful that Socrates used Eunapius as a source ([36]), there is ample opportunity for contamination to have occurred.

After the demise of Rufinus, Eunapius turned his full attention to Eutropius, his successor as Arcadius' chief minister, focussing his account on Eutropius' attempts to eliminate his competitors. Thus

(33) CLAUDIAN, *In Ruf.*, II, 220 ff. and 351 ff.
Accepted by CAMERON, *Claudian*, p. 167 as historical fact.

(34) *Pace* PASCHOUD, n. 5, pp. 82 ff. and n. 13, p. 101.

(35) PASCHOUD, n. 13, p. 101.

(36) PASCHOUD, n. 13, p. 101. On Socrates and Eunapius, see BLOCKLEY, *op. cit.* [n. 2], pp. 98-100.

Zosimus begins with the bald statement that Eutropius had collaborated with Stilicho in the removal of Rufinus (V,8,1), and then went on to rid himself of all rivals at Arcadius' court (V,8,3). He disposed of the generals Timasius and Abundantius, but he failed to destroy Stilicho by means of Gildo's revolt, and he was himself eventually executed to placate Gainas. In Eunapius' pessimistic conception of the continuing decline of the Roman Empire, Eutropius was worse than Rufinus (*fr.* 66), but better than those who followed him (*fr.* 75,5). Like Eunapius, the ancient sources are universally unfavourable to the eunuch *éminence grise.*

The story of Timasius is developed at some length (V,8,3-10,3), no doubt because the principal characters were familiar to Eunapius and his Sardian audience. Indeed, Eunapius and Zosimus are the only sources for the role of Procopius and Saturninus in Timasius' trial, as well as for his son Syagrius and the whole Bargos episode ([37]). Timasius, a *bon vivant miles gloriosus* for whom Eunapius had little sympathy (*fr.* 70), was recalled from retirement in Pamphylia and made his way to Constantinople via Sardis where he added to his entourage the unsavoury ex-sausage seller, Bargos (*fr.* 71). Eutropius suborned Bargos to incriminate Timasius and then used Bargos' disaffected concubine to get rid of him. It is a stirring tale of pride, ambition and betrayal which ends amidst general rejoicing as Bargos gets what he deserves.

According to Zosimus, jealousy and avarice prompted Eutropius to move next against the general and ex-consul, Abundantius (V,10,4-5 ; *fr.* 72), but this episode seems not to have been developed by Eunapius. The contrast with Claudian's *In Eutropium* I (151-70) is striking, for the poet relates at length Abundantius' fall, but never mentions Timasius. Claudian's Abundantius was Eutropius' first patron at court, and thus the eunuch was guilty of betrayal and ingratitude. The fact that this relationship is not found in either Eunapius or Zosimus — who would surely have exploited the theme of ingratitude to the fullest as they did with Bargos — and that Claudian is the only source for it ([38]) raises the possibility that Zosimus is to be preferred to Claudian. Both Eunapius and his eastern readers ought to have known more about Eutropius and Abundantius than Claudian

(37) PASCHOUD, n. 18, p. 108 ; n. 19, p. 110 ; n. 20, p. 111.

(38) H. SCHWECKENDIEK, *Claudians Invektive gegen Eutrop (In Eutropium) Ein Kommentar*, Hildesheim, 1992, p. 76.

and his western ones did. Moreover, if the content of Claudian's version is suspect, then so is his statement that Abundantius was Eutropius' first victim, for Claudian may well have written this just to make Eutropius appear more diabolical. Thus with regard to Timasius and Abundantius, Eunapius' basic facts and relative chronology appear to be more reliable than Claudian's.

Gildo's revolt, however, took place in the west, and Eunapius wrote historical fiction, replete with parallels and others of his stock devices. Thus Eunapius put Eutropius in the same situation as Rufinus had been. Stilicho was now his only rival and, like Rufinus before him, he feared that Stilicho would invade the east (V,11,1). Just as Rufinus had raised up Alaric against Stilicho, so Eutropius initiated an alliance with Gildo (V,11,2) ([39]). Moreover, Eutropius as usual struck first and had Stilicho declared a *hostis publicus* (V,11,1) in very much the same way as he had persuaded Arcadius to strip Abundantius of his honours and wealth (V,10,5). It is futile, indeed, to try to use Zosimus' heavily manipulated account as evidence in the debate about whether Stilicho or Gildo was first condemned by the Roman or Constantinopolitan Senate, respectively ([40]).

Although Gildo's revolt and defection to the Eastern Empire did imperil Rome by cutting off its grain supply ([41]), Zosimus personalizes the consequences and states that it put Stilicho into a very difficult situation. Yet Stilicho is not given any credit for surviving by his own efforts, for the suppression of Gildo is said to be due to the automatic operation of Fortune (V,11,2). Compelled by typical barbarian irrationality, Gildo plotted against his brother, Mascezel, who fled to Italy and was engaged by Stilicho to put down the rebel (V,11,3). Zosimus betrays no awareness of the actual differences between the two brothers, but only invokes this stereotypical barbarian characteristic to explain their falling out ([42]).

Zosimus' description of Mascezel's campaign against Gildo is revealingly different from Orosius' much better informed and more trustworthy account ([43]). Clearly, Eunapius composed a generic, formulaic, story in which Mascezel was given a large force, attacked by

(39) Who initiated what is still a matter of dispute ; see PASCHOUD, n. 23, p. 116.
(40) For such an attempt, see PASCHOUD, n. 22, p. 113.
(41) PASCHOUD, n. 23, p. 116.
(42) For the differences, see PASCHOUD, n. 24, p. 117.
(43) OROSIUS, *Hist.* VII, 36,6-10. *Cf.* PASCHOUD, n. 25, pp. 118 ff.

surprise, and fought a fierce battle, following which Gildo hanged himself rather than fall into the hands of his victorious enemies (V,11,3-4). Orosius tells how Mascezel left Italy with only five thousand soldiers, and easily defeated Gildo. Some days after the battle, Gildo was executed. It is obvious that Eunapius knew very little about the actual campaign, or he would not have had to employ such stock formulas as the surprise attack and the rebel's suicide. Also, he would very likely have countered the Christian miracle to which Orosius attributes Mascezel's easy victory if he had been aware of it.

It is true that after his victory Mascezel returned to Milan and was executed (44), but, apart from these two central facts, all or most of what Zosimus relates is fiction : Stilicho was jealous of Mascezel, had him thrown off a bridge, and laughed as he drowned. Jealousy is a suspiciously common motive in Eunapius' writing (45). Orosius, moreover, records that Mascezel paid with his life for violating sanctuary after his victory (VII,36,13), and Eunapius would surely have noted this example of Christian hypocrisy — as he did in the case of Eutropius (V,18,1) — had he known of it. Thus the episode on the bridge is surely nothing more than a macabre reinforcement of Stilicho's ruthlessness, and a good example of how ancient historians tried to make their readers into spectators by creating vivid scenes (46). It is not the record of an historical event.

After a brief transitional paragraph summarizing the state of affairs in the East and West, Zosimus begins his lengthy account of Gainas' rebellion. In Eunapius' *Histories*, this important episode was introduced by an extended diatribe on historiography, the remains of which are found in *frr.* 73, 74 and 75,1 (47). Eunapius' disavowal of precise chronology and declarations that he writes the truth echo similar asseverations in *fr.* 1. However, the statement that the story which he is about to tell is incredible, and his attack upon historians who relate details of events at court and upon the readers who are impressed by them are of particular relevance to this section of the *Histories*

(44) PASCHOUD, n. 25, p. 119.

(45) EUNAPIUS, (*VS* 462) courtiers and Sopater ; (*VS* 466) courtiers and Eustathius. ZOSIMUS, (II,9,2) Maxentius and Constantine ; (III,8,3) Constantius and Julian ; (IV,35,4) Magnus Maximus and Theodosius.

(46) A. D. WALKER, *Enargeia and the Spectator in Greek Historiography*, dans *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 123 (1993), pp. 353-77.

(47) PASCHOUD, n. 26, pp. 120 f. BLOCKLEY, *op. cit.* [n. 2], vol. II, n. 149.

(*fr.* 73). For example, the treatment is large scale when the action took place near Sardis, but there is less information about what happened in Constantinople.

As in the case of Rufinus and Eutropius, Eunapius did not have to counter a favourable tradition in order to blacken Gainas, but still there are serious distortions in his depiction of him as a formidable barbarian of stereotypical character who wanted to take over the Eastern Empire. The fundamental, but false, premise of Eunapius' account of Gainas was that he and Tribigild were in league from the beginning with Gainas as the senior partner (48). Paschoud accepts Eunapius' construct and argues for it on the basis that Eunapius' narrative was consistent with his premise, and that the histories of Zosimus, John of Antioch and Sozomen are as well. However, Paschoud ignores the fact that Eunapius was quite capable of writing narrative to fit a premise, and that some of the other historians like Zosimus and John of Antioch used Eunapius and thus are not independent authorities (49). Perhaps the idea that Gainas and Tribigild were co-conspirators *ab initio* is best explained as the natural, if erroneous, conclusion of a distressed and threatened population which was adopted and manipulated by historians like Eunapius. Despite its widespread acceptance, this conspiracy theory should not be regarded as historical reality. In Eunapius' hands, it serves as the plot for an historical novel.

Zosimus says that Gainas revolted because he had not received either the honour due a general or sufficient gifts to satisfy his barbarian greed, and because he was angered by Eutropius' growing wealth ((V,13,1). Although Eunapius' prejudice against generals and barbarians is evident here, Gainas' disaffection is blamed on Eutropius' maladministration. Yet it was Tribigild, not Gainas, who first took up arms against the state. In order to accommodate this inconvenient fact, Gainas is said to have shared his thoughts with Tribigild, a Gothic commander of bold and daring character, who thereupon returned to his troops and plundered Lydia savagely (V,13,2-4). Even if Gainas and Tribigild did confer at this time, Eunapius cannot have known what they discussed. The likeliest explanation is that Tribigild revolted

(48) See CAMERON, *B & P*, pp. 226-31 for a thorough refutation of this common assumption.

(49) PASCHOUD, n. 28, p. 125.

because he had not received from Eutropius what he thought he was owed for his services in the campaign of 398 against the Huns (50). Thus Eunapius, wittingly or otherwise, appears to have transferred the motivation from Tribigild to Gainas (51).

In response to Tribigild's revolt, Eutropius implemented a strategy which prevented Tribigild and his Goths from crossing the Hellespont. It can be deduced from Zosimus (V,14,1 and 15,1) that Eutropius sent Gainas with one army to the Thracian side and Leo with a second army to the Asiatic side. Denied access to the Hellespont, Tribigild plundered first Phrygia and then Pisidia (V,14,1-5). There is nothing questionable in the series of events which Zosimus records here. However, Tribigild's actions did not accord with Eunapius' construct of the pact between him and Gainas, and so Eunapius wrote fiction. Zosimus reflects Eunapius' mind-reading when he says that Gainas thought of what had been agreed with Tribigild and told him to take his army to the Hellespont (V,14,3). If Fortune had not intervened, Gainas would have conquered Asia and the East (V,14,3-4). The "unfulfilled intention" (52) is one of the devices used by Eunapius to impute motives to his characters ; here it also serves to exaggerate the threat to the Empire. On this occasion, Fortune took the form of another of Eunapius' historiographical devices, barbarian character. Gainas left Constantinople at the wrong time because of the mad impetuosity natural to barbarians (V,14,4). As for Tribigild, Zosimus records that he did not go to the Hellespont because he feared the troops who were stationed there (V,14,5). There is no contradiction here with Eunapius' fictive pact, for these were Leo's soldiers (V,15,1), and thus his account retains its verisimilitude.

Zosimus devotes three chapters to Tribigild's revolt (V,15-17). The account is dramatic, vivid, detailed, and, since the revolt occurred in Asia Minor, probably historical. For example, the geographical description of the Selge region is reasonably accurate (53). However, Eunapius still imposed his version of Gainas' motives and intentions

(50) CLAUDIAN, *In Eutropium* II, 178-80 and 191-2. CAMERON, *B & P*, pp. 115-6.

(51) Eunapius would not have been the first to transfer thoughts and actions from one character to another. For Plutarch, with whom Eunapius was familiar (*VS* 454), see C. B. R. PELLING, *Plutarch and Thucydides*, dans *Plutarch and the Historical Tradition*, ed. P. A. STADTER, Londres, 1991, p. 15.

(52) The term is taken from CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 229.

(53) PASCHOUD, n. 32, p. 134. *Cf.* CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 229.

through interpretation and imputation. Thus Zosimus says that Gainas only pretended to be distressed at the destruction inflicted by Tribigild (V,15,2). In fact, Gainas must have publicly displayed a great deal of concern which Eunapius could not ignore, and thus converted into hypocrisy. Eunapius also tried to emphasize the seriousness of Tribigild's revolt by declaring that he could have conquered as far as Egypt if he had gone into Lydia instead of Pisidia, but that he did not think of such a plan (V,15,4-5). Apparently, Eunapius could read even an empty mind.

Zosimus relates that, when Gainas crossed over into Asia, he did not engage Tribigild, but observed his advance to the east and secretly sent him reinforcements (V,15,3). Eunapius tried to make his accusation plausible by thus invoking secrecy and by saying that Gainas had not yet revealed his true intentions with regard to the revolt (V,15,3). The latter point would forestall awkward questions about why Gainas did not just join forces with Tribigild. However, the obvious explanation of Gainas' actions is that his Gothic troops were deserting to Tribigild and he did not dare to risk a battle.

Tribigild bribed his way out of a trap at Selge (V,16,1-3), only to be blockaded with his remaining three hundred men between the rivers Melas and Eurymedon (V,16,4). At this point, Gainas sent Leo to attack Tribigild (V,16,5) with the lamentable result that Leo was killed and his army destroyed, while Tribigild escaped from Pamphylia and ravaged Phrygia (V,17,2). Eunapius' explanation is that Tribigild sent messengers to Gainas (V,16,5), and Gainas, fearing lest his henchman be defeated, sent reinforcements (V,17,1). Again, the reinforcements would have been deserters (54), and the fears and messengers figments of Eunapius' imagination. In addition, Gainas' sending Leo against Tribigild is accounted for by reusing the excuse that Gainas had not yet manifested his opinion of the revolt (V,16,5 ; *cf.* V,15,3).

The ouster of Eutropius in July 399 (55) was the next major event after Tribigild's victory over Leo. The ancient sources give two plausible, but unconnected, explanations for the eunuch's fall (56). According to Sozomen (VIII,7,3) and the contemporary Constantinopolitan, Philostorgius (XI,6, p. 136, 7-13), Arcadius dismissed Eutropius at

(54) *Pace* PASCHOUD, n. 33, pp. 136 f.
(55) PASCHOUD, n. 35, p. 141.
(56) PASCHOUD, n. 34, pp. 138 ff.

Eudoxia's request after a fierce quarrel between her and Eutropius. Zosimus, on the other hand, makes Gainas responsible for Eutropius' dismissal from office, his removal from the sanctuary of the Church, and his execution (V,18,2). Although these two variants are not mutually exclusive, for Gainas' and Eudoxia's assaults on Eutropius could have coincided ([57]), it is worth looking more closely at how Zosimus attempts to demonstrate that Gainas was primarily responsible. First, Zosimus claims that Gainas exaggerated the danger posed by Tribigild in order to frighten Arcadius into compliance (V,17,3), and that Gainas dominated Tribigild because of his superior power and prestige (V,18,4). In reality, of course, Tribigild had just destroyed Leo's army with the help of deserters from Gainas. Second, Zosimus maintains that Gainas concealed his true intentions by presenting the demand for Eutropius' dismissal in Tribigild's name (V,17,4). To accept this is to accept Eunapius' construct of the deviously ambitious Gainas plotting for months to take over the Roman Empire.

Why would Gainas have wanted Eutropius to be dismissed? Zosimus says that it was because Eutropius was consul and patrician and had gained great power, and that it was not because Gainas felt any anger at being passed over (V,17,4). This is mere mind-reading. It has been suggested that Gainas feared going the way of Timasius and Abundantius ([58]),but this was not necessarily the case. On the contrary, Gainas was indebted to Eutropius who had appointed him commander-in-chief for the war against Tribigild ([59]). Moreover, except that it removed the hazard of a battle with Tribigild, the elimination of Eutropius seems not to have benefitted Gainas. Even after his supposed coup d'état, Gainas is known to have made only two requests : the consulate of 401, for which he was designated, and an Arian church within the walls of Constantinople, which Arcadius refused to grant ([60]). The obvious conclusion is that Eunapius repackaged the basic public facts that Tribigild was a serious threat and, through Gainas, demanded the punishment of his enemy, Eutropius.

The fall and execution of Eutropius were treated at length in Eunapius' *Histories*. Zosimus retains the separate stages in the process, emphasizes the violation of the Christian right of sanctuary, and reflects

(57) PASCHOUD, n. 34, p. 139 and CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 8.
(58) PASCHOUD, n. 34, p. 139.
(59) Gainas gave orders to Leo, e.g. V,16,5.
(60) CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 327.

on how Fortune raised Eutropius to a greater height than any other eunuch and then cast him down (V,18,1-3). In the *Histories*, Eunapius also noted that Eutropius suffered both the effects of his own law against sanctuary and *damnatio memoriae*, and wrote a typical historical disquisition on the Roman consulship in order to emphasize the enormity of a eunuch consul ([61]).

Contrary to Eunapius' premise of collusion *ab initio*, even after the defeat of Leo's army, there is no proof that Gainas and Tribigild were working together ([62]). Eunapius' statement that Gainas sent a messenger to Tribigild after the fall of Eutropius to tell him that they had attained their goal is not evidence of long-term cooperation (*fr.* 75,6). Moreover, could Eunapius have known either that Gainas sent a message, or what its contents were ? Thus the fragment is probably an example of historical verisimilitude : given their plot, Gainas must have said this to Tribigild. The one and only time that they joined forces was at Thyatira (V,18,5), and, after floods prevented their attack on Sardis — probably another of Eunapius' "unfulfilled intentions" ([63]) — they went their separate ways (V,18,5-6). There must have been some sort of understanding between Gainas and Tribigild for them to have met at Thyatira, but it need not have been more than a mutual non-aggression pact. Even when Gainas was delivering his ultimatum to Arcadius at Chalcedon, and would presumably have wanted to make as strong a show of force as possible, Tribigild was far away at Lampsacus (V,18,6-7).

Thus even in Zosimus' tendentious account, the first concrete evidence that Gainas was anything other than a loyal and obedient general is found in his meeting with Arcadius at Chalcedon in April 400 (V,18,6-9) ([64]). Although the circumstances which led to the meeting are not known, it is obvious that Gainas trusted none of the ministers at court since he would talk only with Arcadius. Hence Eunapius can be believed when he says that Gainas was outmanoeuvred after Eutropius' fall (*fr.* 75,6). Arcadius handed over to Gainas the praetorian prefect and consul Aurelian, the ex-consul Saturninus, and the courtier John ; they were sent into exile after Gainas staged a mock execution

(61) D. F. Buck, *Eunapius, Eutropius and the Suda*, dans *RhM*, 135 (1992), pp. 365-9.

(62) *Cf.* Cameron, *B & P*, pp. 230 f.

(63) *Cf Ibid.*, p. 229.

(64) *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 324.

(V,18,7-9). In his homily, *On Avarice*, Chrysostom claims that he persuaded Gainas to spare their lives (65), and there is no good reason to doubt him. It thus appears that Eunapius ignored this success of the bishop whom he hated and substituted a dramatic episode — the symbolic execution — for an inconvenient event (66).

The major results of Gainas' ultimatum were that he and his army crossed the Bosphorus to Constantinople, and Tribigild and his army the Hellespont to Thrace (V,18,7). Tribigild does not appear again in Zosimus, although Philostorgius records that he was soon after killed in Thrace (XI,8, p. 138,25-7), and a fragment of Eunapius may refer to his death (*fr.* 75,7). Whatever relationship Tribigild had with Gainas, the only reward that he received was to return to Thrace. Perhaps this was always his chief aim. Eutropius had positioned his armies to prevent Tribigild from having access to the Hellespont, and Tribigild may have thought it necessary to remove Eutropius in order to be able to leave Asia. Why would Eutropius have wanted to prevent Tribigild from going to Thrace? Perhaps Eutropius feared that he would ally with Alaric, then Magister Militum per Illyricum (67). Perhaps he wanted to add the defeat of Tribigild to his success against the Huns. Whatever Eutropius' reason, his successors seem to have maintained his policy until they, too, were removed. Indeed, the policy seems to have been extended to include Gainas and his army. Although the government in Constantinople had no force at hand which could have met Gainas or Tribigild in battle, it would have controlled the shipping necessary to transport their armies to Europe. After all, Gainas' lack of ships was a major cause of his failure to cross back into Asia (V,21,2). Although the sources are silent about why Gainas removed Arcadius' ministers in April 400, their failure to provide shipping may have been one of his principal reasons.

Gainas thereupon took up residence in Constantinople along with several thousand of his people. However, their position in the capital weakened over the next four months and, on 12 July 400, the people of Constantinople rose up against them, finally slaughtering seven thousand Goths in their own church. The surviving sources for these events are not without their problems. Of the two more or less

(65) *Ibid.*, p. 173.

(66) Zosimus is the only source for the mock execution. See PASCHOUD, n. 37, p. 150.

(67) *PLRE* II s.v. Alaricus 1.

eyewitness accounts of the massacre itself, Synesius' *De Providentia* is a highly partisan political allegory ([68]), and Philostorgius' *Church History* is fragmentary ([69]). The official version of the suppression of Gainas was depicted on a column at Constantinople which was begun in 402/3. This column has been destroyed, but drawings preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge and in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris indicate that the massacre in Constantinople was omitted, probably because it was an embarrassment to Arcadius' regime ([70]). The *Church Histories* of Socrates and Sozomen are detailed and coherent, but they were written from a Christian providential perspective and drew upon such dubious sources as the epic poem, the *Gainia* ([71]).

Zosimus' account of the massacre of the Goths on 12 July 400, and of the events leading up to it, is consistent with, and the culmination of, Eunapius' construct of Gainas, the would-be conqueror, nor does it lack verisimilitude ([72]). However, it diverges significantly from the truth, insofar as it can be recovered. Nevertheless, Eunapius is in basic agreement with the other writers who describe the massacre, for "the only detail on which all sources agree is that Gainas was planning to loot and burn the city..." ([73]). Thus he must also have been in agreement with his contemporary audience. No one at the time appears to have realized that Gainas did not need to pillage Constantinople since he could simply have continued to extort what he needed from Arcadius ([74]).

According to Zosimus, Gainas' plan was that the Goths outside Constantinople should attack the city when they saw the palace guards leaving (V,18,10). Gainas himself went to a suburb forty stades away some time before the assault was to take place (V,19,2). However, Gainas, once again carried away by his barbarian impetuosity, approached Constantinople without waiting for the signal, and the sentries gave the alarm. As a result, Gainas was unable to fight his way into the city, and those Goths inside were massacred (V,19,3). The skeleton

(68) CAMERON, *B & P*, pp. 143 ff. and *passim*.
(69) *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*[3], ed. BIDEZ and WINKELMANN, *GCS*, 1981, pp. cvi ff.
(70) J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Barbarians and Bishops*, Oxford, 1990, pp. 273-8.
(71) *Ibid.*, pp. 112-4.
(72) *Pace* PASCHOUD, n. 38, p. 154.
(73) CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 201.
(74) *Ibid.*, p. 202.

of this version is true, for the Goths inside were destroyed and those outside were repulsed. However, it is not true that Gainas intended to seize Constantinople by force, or that the attempt to do so failed because of his impatience. Eunapius transmuted a collective and largely unconscious process into another of Gainas' unfulfilled intentions.

Before looking more closely at what Zosimus says, it is necessary to see what he omits. Zosimus gives no indication that some four months elapsed between Gainas' expulsion of Arcadius' ministers and the massacre ; Gainas was no sooner installed in Constantinople than he made his arrangements to seize the city (V,18,10). Despite its faults as an historical source, Synesius' *De Providentia* (II,1) reveals that the morale of the Goths in Constantinople deteriorated badly during those four months ([75]). Synesius tells how Gainas suffered from nightmares and the Gothic soldiers from panic attacks. They wandered about the city aimless and dispirited, occasionally rushing about with drawn swords, now pursuing, now fleeing imaginary enemies. When a Gothic soldier needed the services of a shopkeeper, shoemaker, or swordsmith, he took along a group of his friends as a bodyguard. Socrates (VI,6) and Sozomen (VIII,4) reflect the same situation in their stories of an attempt to rob the money-changers and of attacks on the imperial palace which were repulsed by squads of angels in military uniform. It is safe to conclude that Gainas and his Goths decided to leave Constantinople because they were afraid.

Equally, there can be little doubt that Eunapius deliberately passed over the events of these four months. He had several reasons for doing so. He avoided having to acknowledge, or otherwise deal with, any Christian miracles like those found in Socrates and Sozomen ([76]), and telescoping events in this way increases the dramatic force of the narrative. However, the most important reason was surely that Eunapius' picture of Gainas as the ambitious and ruthless leader of a fierce barbarian horde was not true. Hence Eunapius could not give a true account of the Goths in Constantinople, or of their departure from it. Sardis is not so far from Constantinople that he can be excused on the ground of ignorance.

Some details in Zosimus' account require elucidation. At the beginning of this episode, Zosimus' text gives the impression that

(75) *Cf. Ibid.*, pp. 215-6.
(76) PASCHOUD, n. 38, p. 155.

Gainas dispersed his troops as part of his plan to denude Constantinople of its defenders (V,18,10). However, this is a false impression since it was normal practice for the praesental army to be in camps or barracks in the neighbourhood of the city (77). The palace guards, or scholae, are a bigger problem, for Zosimus has been read as saying that Gainas sent them out of the city (78). Such a reading not only conflicts with the fact that a magister militum like Gainas had no authority over the scholae (79), but, more important, Zosimus later states that the guards helped the populace to slaughter the Goths (V,19,3). Moreover, the story told by Socrates (VI,6), Sozomen (VIII,4,12-14) and Philostorgius (XI,8) about how an army of angels protected the palace from the Goths is also evidence that the scholae had not been sent out of the city (80). However, the palace guards cease to be a problem if the aorist infinitive *ὥστε ... γυμνῶσαι* is read as expressing purpose or anticipated result, not actual result (81). Herein lies the key to Eunapius' reconstruction of the massacre. He used the fact that the scholae did not leave Constantinople as the basis for his explanation of Gainas' failure to take the city. Gainas intended to, but did not, wait until the palace guards had left before launching his assault. Once again, Eunapius converted a fact into an unfulfilled intention (82).

The sources give different versions of the event which triggered the massacre, but, in all except Zosimus, it involves the departure of the Goths from the city. In Zosimus' version, Gainas' approach to Constantinople sparks the fighting. According to Zosimus, Gainas had left the city some days before under the pretence that he was unwell and needed peace and quiet (V,19,1). Socrates (VI,6) and Sozomen (VIII,4) resemble Zosimus in having Gainas leave the city some time before the massacre, although they give as his excuse that he was possessed by a demon. However, they state that the fighting broke out when the guards at the gate discovered that the departing Goths were carrying concealed

(77) PASCHOUD, n. 38, p. 153, and CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 209.
(78) CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 208.
(79) *Ibid.*
(80) *Cf.* PASCHOUD, n. 38, p. 153.
(81) LIDDELL, SCOTT, JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon* s.v. *ὥστε* B. E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s.v. *ὥστε* 5.
(82) This argument confirms that the correct reading in line 17 (Paschoud) is the plural *ἐξελθόντας*, not the singular *ἐξελθόντα*. *Cf.* PASCHOUD, n. 38, pp. 151-2.

weapons ([83]). Synesius does not say when Gainas left. In his account, the fighting results from an altercation between a Goth and a beggar woman at one of the gates (*De Providentia*, II,1-2). Philostorgius (XI,8) may give the best information about what really happened : the conflict began as Gainas and his party were leaving, he had to fight his way out, and the Goths outside the city attacked in a vain attempt to rescue those trapped inside. It matters little what precise incident ignited the violence, for apart from the general volatility of late antique cities, Gainas' Goths would have been sufficiently odious to the people of Constantinople for even a minor provocation to be enough to cause this violent uprising ([84]). However, Zosimus' version must be rejected, not only because it contradicts the other sources, but because it appears to have been written to reinforce Eunapius' depiction of Gainas' aims and aggressive character.

It is clear from Zosimus that Eunapius gave a vigorous and detailed description of the fighting, the climax of which was the incineration of seven thousand Goths who had taken refuge in a church (V,19,3-5). No doubt Eunapius felt a malicious pleasure in relating how, yet again, Christians, this time on the orders of Arcadius, violated the right of sanctuary. Zosimus preserves the piquantly sacrilegious detail that the roof was opened over the altar so that flaming brands could be hurled down at the refugees inside. It is uncertain how much of this information is true and how much is the product of Eunapius' imagination since the accounts of the burning of the church by Socrates, Sozomen, and Synesius are much briefer. However, if it is true, then Eunapius ought to have known what had happened in Constantinople since April, and his omissions and distortions must have been deliberate.

Zosimus then makes the significant admission that only after the massacre did Gainas openly make war against the state (V,19,6) ([85]). This proves that, up to this point, Eunapius had no hard evidence that Gainas had nurtured any of the monstrous plans which he attributed to him. However, honesty only extends so far, and Zosimus is silent about the negotiations which are known from Synesius to have taken place between Gainas and the P.P.O. Caesarius after the

(83) CAMERON, *B & P*, pp. 212-13 for a discussion of civilians and weapons.
(84) *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 217.
(85) *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 231.

massacre ([86]). Although Gainas was not coaxed back into the service of Rome, the very fact that he negotiated was irreconcilable with Eunapius' conception of the would-be conqueror.

The penultimate act in Eunapius' docudrama about Gainas was the naval battle which he fought in his vain attempt to cross back into Asia after he had been starved out of Thrace (V,19,7). His opponent was the Magister Militum per Orientem, Flavius Fravitta (V,20,1) ([87]), a patriotic pagan Goth glorified by Eunapius as the type of the ideal, Hellenic barbarian (IV,56, ;*frr.* 60 and 80). Eunapius drew some striking contrasts between the two commanders and their forces. Fravitta had a proper navy of Liburna galleys (V,20,3-4), but Gainas had only rafts, built with barbarian lack of skill, which could not be manoeuvred (V,21,2). In the battle itself, Gainas watched from the shore, filled with false confidence, while Fravitta's own ship was the first to sink a Gothic raft, and thereby inspired the rest of his fleet (V,21,3-4). Fravitta's feat of arms is the type of vivid, personal vignette not infrequently found in Eunapius ([88]) and may have been written as a substitute for the wind which hampered the Goths and is understandably interpreted as divine intervention by Socrates (VI,6) and Sozomen (VIII,4). Yet, however much Eunapius may have embroidered his account, the victory was real and Fravitta was rewarded with the consulate in 401 (V,21,6) ([89]).

After his defeat, Gainas fled to the outer regions of Thrace (V,21,4), and most of the rest of what Zosimus says about him must be fiction. The only secure facts are that the Hun king, Uldin, sent Gainas' head to Arcadius and was rewarded with gifts and a treaty (V,22,3). Gainas may, in fact, have killed the Romans who were still with him (V,21,6), but such an atrocity fits too well with Eunapius' conception of Gainas' barbarian character to be accepted without question. Who would have informed Eunapius and how reliable a witness would he have been ? Eunapius must surely be the author of Gainas' reasons for slaying the Romans, as well as of his intention to live in his homeland across the Danube (V,21,6). Indeed, it is uncertain that Gainas would have

(86) *Ibid.*, pp. 231-2.

(87) PASCHOUD, n. 40, p. 160.

(88) Examples are Constantine's cavalry charge (II,22,6), Theodosius' patrol against bandits (IV,48), and Gerontius' single combat against the Gothic warrior (IV,40,3-4).

(89) PASCHOUD, n. 43, p. 167.

wanted to go back to his people, or that he would have survived very long if he had (90). However, some Germans did leave Roman service and return home (91), and thus Eunapius' statement would not have seemed implausible to his readers. Zosimus claims that Uldin eliminated Gainas because he did not want him as a neighbour and because he wanted to ingratiate himself with the Romans (V,22,1). The first is extrapolated from Gainas' supposed desire to go home, and the second from Uldin's reward.

Even the story of how Gainas and his men fought hard, long and bravely against the Huns cannot be accepted uncritically. If a Roman army had finished off Gainas, it is possible that Eunapius could have learned what happened from a veteran of the battle, but it is unlikely that he interviewed any Huns. There is an added reason for caution. Fravitta was severely criticized for not pursuing Gainas after his naval victory, and Eunapius defends him vigorously (V,21,5 and *fr.* 82). Thus Eunapius may have been trying to demonstrate the wisdom of Fravitta's Laconian strategy by emphasizing how well Gainas fought against the dreaded Huns.

What are the results of this investigation of Eunapius' treatment of the revolts of Tribigild and Gainas ? Tribigild proves to have been a minor, shadowy figure who never spoke for himself, but only destroyed, departed and died. Gainas, however, emerges as the antithesis of what Eunapius said that he was. Gainas never wanted to conquer even part of the Roman empire, nor did he need to, for he was a professional general, not another Alaric leading a tribe which needed land to farm (92). He was a loyal servant of the state until he found himself in danger from Arcadius' civilian ministers. He did not stage a coup d'état when he persuaded Arcadius to dismiss Aurelian *et al.*, for he did not become a military dictator, hold any office, or have a policy to impose. Not even the soldiers who guarded the gates of Constantinople were under his orders.

Why then did Eunapius convert a victim of court politics into a monster ? The fighting at Constantinople on 12 July, the ravaging of Thrace, and the naval battle at the Hellespont would have established the character of Gainas and his Goths in the public mind. Eunapius'

(90) CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 331.
(91) A. D. LEE, *Information and Frontiers*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 77.
(92) CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 203.

particular audience would also have experienced the suffering inflicted on Asia by armies both rebel and loyal. Moreover, since Eunapius wrote after 410, Alaric provided a ready and compelling model (93).

Following his victory over Gainas, Fravitta returned triumphantly to court at Constantinople, scorning those who criticized him for not pursuing his beaten foe (V,21,5-6 ; *fr.* 82). Eunapius described how Fravitta attributed his victory to his pagan gods and declared in the presence of Arcadius himself that he would remain true to them. Arcadius conceded Fravitta his paganism. Clearly, Eunapius viewed this episode as one of the high points of post-Julianic paganism and no doubt he enhanced its drama. However, whatever its embellishments, Eunapius' basic account of Fravitta's reception is true, for he was rewarded with the consulship of 401, and he and his victory were commemorated on the column of 402 and by a marble liburna (94). Surely Eunapius intended at least a tacit comparison with Gainas' intimidation of Arcadius at Chalcedon. The victorious Fravitta was welcomed with open arms and asked only for religious toleration, while the treacherous Gainas had to depose Arcadius' ministers in order to be admitted into Constantinople. This contrast, of course, reinforces Fravitta's role as the good barbarian of the *Histories*. Nor did Fravitta rest on his laurels, for he left court to campaign against the brigands who were troubling Thrace in the wake of Gainas' revolt (V,22,3).

After the return from exile of Aurelian, Saturninus and John (V,23,2), the empress Eudoxia takes her place as the dominant figure in Arcadius' government and the unifying factor in Zosimus' narrative (95). Although the presence of her three supporters would certainly have increased Eudoxia's influence (96), it was not negligible before. The prime example of how Eunapius suppressed Eudoxia's earlier influence is the fact that he made Gainas solely responsible for the ouster of Eutropius. It is also significant that she emerges after Fravitta made his declaration of paganism to Arcadius. Only a weak emperor like Arcadius would have acceded to the demands which Eunapius placed in Fravitta's mouth, and there was thus no place for a hard-line Christian like

(93) *Ibid.*, p. 202.
(94) *Ibid.*, pp. 237-8.
(95) *Cf.* R. C. Blockley, *The Ending of Eunapius' History*, dans *Antichthon*, 14 (1980), p. 176.
(96) Cameron, *B & P*, p. 235.

Eudoxia who supported destroying the pagan temple at Gaza and displayed public enthusiasm for the bones of martyrs ([97]). Eunapius was not alone in his unfavourable opinion of the Empress, for she was regarded by other contemporaries as imperious, greedy and corrupt ([98]). These opinions must have some basis in fact, as must the story of how Eudoxia took possession of a widow's vineyard ([99]).

It is consonant with the dominant role given to Eudoxia by Eunapius that Zosimus says that she aroused bishops from everywhere against Chrysostom (V,23,3). This exaggerates her importance, for Chrysostom had already made his own enemies amongst both bishops and monks ([100]). However, Zosimus does acknowledge that Theophilus of Alexandria led the bishops opposed to Chrysostom, and thus it is clear that Eunapius preserved the public fact while imputing the ultimate responsibility to Eudoxia. Eunapius also condemned Eudoxia for corruption of justice in his account of the general Arbazacius who was sent to Pamphylia to deal with the Isaurian raids of 404 (*fr.* 84 and V,25). According to Zosimus, this devotee of pleasure would have been able to suppress the Isaurians completely if he had not enriched himself to the detriment of the common good. When Arbazacius was summoned to the Palace to answer for his misdeeds, he bribed Eudoxia with part of his plunder and retired to a life of luxury. Yet, despite his condemnation of her, Eunapius thought that Eudoxia was herself a victim of the greed of the eunuchs and women at court (V,24,2) ([101]). So deep was Eunapius' pessimism that he viewed even Eudoxia as a symptom rather than the cause of the corruption afflicting the Empire.

In the last section of his *Histories*, Eunapius narrated two, somewhat parallel, series of events — the first leading to the exile of John Chrysostom and the second to the execution of Fravitta. Both men fell victim to the same group of courtiers and, in particular, to Count

(97) Kenneth G. HOLUM, *Theodosian Empresses*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982, pp. 58 and 72.

(98) *Ibid.*, pp. 56-8. *Cf.* F. VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Que vaut le Témoignage de Pallade sur le Procès de Saint Jean Chrysostome ?*, dans *AB*, 95 (1977), p. 396 for accusations of greed by pseudo-Martyrius.

(99) J. N. D. KELLY, *Golden Mouth*, Londres, 1995, pp. 170-1. For a contrary opinion, see F. VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Jean Chrysostome en Conflit avec l'Impératrice Eudoxie*, dans *AB*, 97 (1979), p. 156.

(100) PASCHOUD, n. 47, p. 177 ; LIEBESCHUETZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.

(101) PASCHOUD, n. 48, p. 182 names some of these eunuchs and women.

John whom Zosimus identifies as the lover of the Empress Eudoxia and the real father of Theodosius II (V,18,8) ([102]). Eunapius does not appear to have attempted a complete account of Chrysostom's career as Bishop of Constantinople, for, as Paschoud says, Zosimus' main concern is only with the aftermath of his two exiles ([103]). Of Chrysostom's many enemies, Zosimus names only the Empress Eudoxia and Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, (V,23,2-3) and gives no details of the ecclesiastical quarrels. Indeed, Chrysostom seems not to have been one of Eunapius' principal targets, for, although Zosimus accuses Chrysostom of being a demagogue who fomented disturbances in Constantinople (V,23,4&6) ([104]), Eunapius could probably have found the grounds for a more severe attack on Chrysostom, had he wished to do so. For example, Palladius relates that he was picked by the eunuch Eutropius to be Bishop of Constantinople ([105]), and pseudo-Martyrius records that he was accused by some of collaboration with Gainas ([106]). The relatively low priority accorded Chrysostom in Eunapius' *Histories* is also indicated by the fact that the narrative of his career is interrupted by an unrelated digression on corruption at court (V,24,1-2).

Zosimus writes that, during Chrysostom's first exile from Constantinople, monks occupied the churches and prevented worshippers from attending services until they were expelled and slaughtered by the soldiers and the populace (V,23,4-6). Although Zosimus is the only source to describe this massacre of monks, his account cannot be dismissed as pure invention because there is ample evidence that Chrysostom's first exile prompted severe disturbances in Constantinople. Indeed, it would be most surprising if it had not. Socrates (VI,15,18-20) and Sozomen (VIII,18,1-2) speak of several days of unrest ([107]). The letter of Chrysostom to Pope Innocent which is preserved in

(102) If the exiles returned to Constantinople by late September, it is possible for Count John to have fathered Theodosius II, and hence the rumour would have been plausible. See CAMERON, *B & P*, pp. 235-6 and p. 241.

(103) PASCHOUD, n. 47, pp. 176-7.

(104) Christian sources give the opposite impression of Chrysostom. *Cf.* F. VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Jean Chrysostome et le peuple de Constantinople*, dans *AB*, 99 (1981), p. 348.

(105) PALLADIUS, *Dialogus*, V,53 ff.

(106) VAN OMMESLAEGHE, (1979), [n. 101] p. 152.

(107) Cf. VAN OMMESLAEGHE (1981), [n. 104], p. 334.

Palladius' *Dialogus* says that the Emperor expelled the Bishop's opponents from a church, although it does not identify them ([108]). The *Sermo post reditum ab exsilio* (*P.G.* 52, 443-48), which Chrysostom supposedly delivered on his return from his first exile, states that violence left the baptistry filled with blood ([109]). Whatever the authorship of this speech may be, it seems to have been written during the Johannite schism and to preserve genuine information ([110]). Further confirmation of Zosimus is found in the *Life of Chrysostom* by pseudo-Martyrius, a work composed in late 407 or early 408 ([111]). Pseudo-Martyrius relates that Chrysostom's enemies occupied the church and that, in the fighting which ensued, the baptistry was filled with the blood of children ([112]). Although certainty remains impossible, Gregory's reconstruction makes good sense of the evidence provided by these disparate sources. When Chrysostom was recalled from his first exile because of the demands of his supporters, the monks, led by Chrysostom's enemy, Isaac, seized the churches in an effort to prevent his return. The army then enforced the emperor's will and, together with the people, expelled the monks ([113]).

It is thus clear that Eunapius did not wholly invent the massacre of the monks during Chrysostom's first exile. It is obvious, too, that Eunapius did not transmute the destruction of Hagia Sophia, which occurred after the second exile, into this massacre, for, as Gregory notes, Zosimus knows about both events and distinguishes between them ([114]). However, neither Gregory, nor van Ommeslaeghe, nor Paschoud, nor Kelly remarks on the fact that Zosimus omits the Easter Massacre of 404 ([115]). This is a curious omission since the Paschal attack happened before the burning of Hagia Sophia and thus within the

(108) *Palladios. Dialogue sur la Vie de Jean Chrysostome*, vol. II, ed., A.-M. MALINGREY dans *SC*, no. 342 (1988), 78 = l. 105 ff.

(109) Timothy E. GREGORY, *Zosimus 5,23 and the People of Constantinople*, dans *Byz.*, 43 (1973), pp. 78-9.

(110) *Ibid.*, p. 79. *Cf.* VAN OMMESLAEGHE (1981), [n. 104], n. 28, p. 341.

(111) VAN OMMESLAEGHE (1981), [n. 104], p. 331.

(112) *Ibid.*, p. 337 (citing Mart., P. 501 a-b). Thus this detail about the baptistry cannot be used as evidence that *Post Reditum* confuses the first and second exiles (*pace* GREGORY, *op. cit.*, p. 78).

(113) GREGORY, *op. cit.*, p. 80. *Cf.* KELLY, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-5.

(114) GREGORY, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

(115) *Vid.* E. DEMOUGEOT, *De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain*, Paris, 1951, p. 329 for sources and reconstruction.

period treated by Eunapius. Moreover, it is unlikely that Eunapius would have been unaware of it, or that Zosimus would have failed to summarize Eunapius' account if it had existed. Given that the Easter massacre would have had less impact on the pagan Eunapius than on Chrysostom ([116]) and Palladius ([117]), the record of it may, perhaps, be subsumed in Zosimus' statement that, after Chrysostom returned to Constantinople, he aroused disturbances similar to the massacre of the monks (V,23,6). It is also possible that Eunapius exaggerated the extent of the violence against the monks, for the incident afforded him an excellent opportunity to express his hatred of them ([118]) ; in fact, he prefaced his account with a tirade against monks. Indeed, the most plausible explanation of what is found in Zosimus may be that Eunapius telescoped the Easter massacre into his version of the monks' occupation of the church. For example, the assault of the *scutarii* commanded by Lucius which led to the baptismal font being stained with blood may well have been the inspiration for Eunapius' description of the attack on the monks ([119]).

These observations lead to the conclusion that Eunapius modelled his account of the expulsion of the monks on the massacre of Gainas' Goths. By telescoping the violent disturbances which followed Chrysostom's two exiles into one dramatic episode, Eunapius was able to make the massacre of the monks into the equivalent of the massacre of the Goths. On both occasions, Christians, aided by the army, slaughtered Christians in churches, in the course of spontaneous and violent uprisings by the ordinary citizens of Constantinople against an alien, aggressive and hated group. This simplification, focussing and balancing of events improved the novelistic quality and propagandistic effectiveness of the *Histories*, but at the expense of historical accuracy.

In the course of the disturbances following Chrysostom's second exile, Hagia Sophia was burned and the fire spread to the Senate ([120]). At the time, the church was occupied by Chrysostom's supporters and, although the perpetrators were never arrested or even identified ([121]),

([116]) *Cf.* the *Letter to Innocent*, l. 146 ff.
([117]) *Dialogus*, IX, 162 ff.
([118]) *Cf.* EUNAPIUS, *VS* 472.
([119]) PALLADIUS, *Dialogus*, IX,177-201.
([120]) *Cf.* KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
([121]) PASCHOUD, n. 51, p. 188.

the conflagration was generally blamed on the Johannites ([122]). Socrates says that the Johannites set fire to Hagia Sophia (VI,18), while Sozomen relates that the blaze started when the Johannites, blockaded by Chrysostom's enemies, tried to force their way out of the church (VIII,22,3-6). In the *Dialogus*, Palladius makes an obvious attempt to exonerate Chrysostom's partisans. He declares that the fire was divine retribution and claims that it began with the spontaneous combustion of the Bishop's throne, and then leapt from the church over the intervening buildings to the Senate (X,90 ff.). However, the fire spared the little room in which the sacred vessels were stored, with the result that Chrysostom could not be accused of selling them (X,113 ff.).

For his part, Eunapius respected the basic facts, although he seems to have been the most extreme in his condemnation of the Johannites and he did manage to find a pagan miracle amidst the debris of the fire. Thus Zosimus declares that the Johannites wanted to burn down Constantinople so that no bishop could succeed Chrysostom (V,24,3). As was seen in the Gainas episode, it is typical of Eunapius to attribute extravagant motives to those whom he would have his readers regard as guilty. It is also typical for Eunapius to claim to know that Chrysostom's supporters were the incendiaries, despite admitting the fact that they set the fire "secretly" and escaped at dawn without being identified (V,24,4). The pagan miracle was the survival of the statues of Zeus and Athena. Eunapius proclaimed that this gave hope to true believers since it was evidence of the benevolence of these two gods (V,24,8). Indeed Eunapius must have found the section of the *Histories* dealing with Chrysostom one of the more satisfying to write, for, in addition to the miracle of the statues, the bishop was exiled and the monks massacred.

The series of events leading to Fravitta's death began after Arbazacius' campaign against the Isaurians. Count John's protégé, Hierax, an Alexandrian of vicious character whom Eunapius once shamed into silence (*fr.* 83), was the principal agent of Fravitta's destruction. Fravitta appears to have made an enemy of Count John when he publicly accused him of disrupting the unity of the Eastern and Western Empires. Eunapius paints a vivid scene in which Fravitta berates Count John in the presence of courtiers who silently nod their heads in

(122) PASCHOUD, n. 49, p. 184 for the sources.

agreement, but conspire with Count John out of fear (*fr.* 85). Despite the *enargeia* ([123]), the substance of the quarrel is believable, for it fits the breakdown of relations between East and West in 404/5 after a period of amity ([124]). Eunapius then says that Hierax became governor of Pamphylia so that he could gather evidence against Fravitta ([125]), and was so oppressive that the Pamphylians found him worse than the Isaurian raiders (*fr.* 86 ; *cf. fr.* 87). Although the circumstances of Fravitta's death are not known, *frr.* 86 and 87 record that Hierax was punished for his part in it when he was fined by the vicar Lucius Herennianus, who was in turn mulcted by the praetorian prefect. The narrative of these events was decorated with punning bird imagery and set in the context of a long condemnation of the corrupt nature of provincial administration under the regime of the Empress Pulcheria.

This reference to Pulcheria's regime presents a problem, for she was not made Augusta until 414, and Photius states that Eunapius ended his *Histories* in 404 ([126]). Pulcheria could scarcely have exercised any significant influence before 414 since even then she was only fifteen years of age ([127]). Moreover, given that Eunapius deprecates precise chronology and dates events regnally (*fr.* 1), even if Fravitta was executed in 405 ([128]), this fact would not significantly impair Photius' testimony. In order to remove the conflict with Photius and to eliminate a gap of at least ten years between Hierax's attack on Fravitta and his punishment by Herennianus, Blockley wishes to emend "Pulcheria" to "Eudoxia" ([129]). His suggestion has been rejected by Paschoud and Cameron ([130]), and it cannot be correct if, as is likely, Fravitta was executed after Eudoxia's death on 6 October 404. For his part, Paschoud considers the passage in question to be a digression on corruption under Pulcheria ([131]). However, it is difficult to see why

(123) For *enargeia* and this use of spectators, *cf.* WALKER, *op. cit.* [n. 46] and PELLING, *op. cit.* [n. 51], p. 13.

(124) CAMERON, *B & P*, pp. 249-50.

(125) *Ibid.*, pp. 242-6.

(126) PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 77.

(127) *PLRE* II s.v. Aelia Pulcheria.

(128) CAMERON, *B & P*, pp. 236-252.

(129) BLOCKLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

(130) PASCHOUD, n. 48, pp. 182-3, and *Eunapiana*, dans *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium*, 1982/83, pp. 280-81. *Cf.* CAMERON, *B & P*, p. 246, n. 199.

(131) PASCHOUD, *loc. cit.*

Eunapius would have written this long passage if it is simply a digression on contemporary corruption.

The solution may be that Hierax was not punished for the death of Fravitta until the reign of Pulcheria. Hierax and Herennianus are known only from Eunapius, and Herennianus could have been vicar of Asia at any time between the tenures of Theophilus 1 (28 January 398) and Eustathius 4 (29 January 435) ([132]). Moreover, there are two good examples of delayed retribution in Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists*. Eunapius viewed the execution of Ablabius in late 337 or early 338 as his punishment for the plot which he had engineered against Sopater at Constantine's court (*VS* 464). Although the date of Sopater's death is unknown ([133]), it appears to have occurred some years before the condemnation of Ablabius. In the second example, some eight years elapsed between when Festus executed Maximus of Ephesus for his part in the conspiracy of Theodorus and when he dropped dead in the Temple of Nemesis (*VS* 481). Maximus was arrested in 371 and Festus, proconsul of Asia from 372 to 378, is thought to have died on 3 January 380 ([134]). Thus Eunapius would not have considered ten years too long an interval for the fining of Hierax to be retribution for the death of Fravitta. The probable purpose, then, of the digression on Pulcheria's corrupt regime is to describe the punishment of Hierax and thereby to complete the story of Fravitta.

It is thus clear that Eunapius wrote propagandistic historical fiction about the reign of Arcadius, despite the fact that the events which he described had occurred in the very recent past and mostly in the east. The limits which he observed in his fictionalizing of history were not very restrictive : he preserved the public facts which his Sardian readers would have known and aimed, not for truth, but for verisimilitude. He dealt with facts which would have impaired the novelistic quality and ideological value of the *Histories* by telescoping, suppression, substitution and mind-reading. Eunapius imposed his interpretation on history not only by proclaiming pagan miracles like the saving of Athens from Alaric, but also by constructing a narrative which was consistent with the character of those whom, like Gainas, he made

(132) *PLRE* II, s.vv., and p. 1281 for fasti.
(133) PENELLA, *op. cit.*, [n. 1], p. 50. *Cf. PLRE* I s.v. Fl. Ablabius 2.
(134) *PLRE* I, s.v. Maximus of Ephesus 21 and Festus 3.

responsible for the course of events. Hence the *Histories* are a useful source for Arcadius' reign only if they are used circumspectly and in full awareness of Eunapius' aims and methods. They are, however, valuable evidence about how this late pagan historian viewed his contemporary world and about how he chose to record it, just as they help to reveal the knowledge and expectations of those whom he intended to read his work (135).

University of Prince Edward Island
Charlottetown, Canada.

David F. Buck.

(135) I wish to record my gratitude to the Senate Research Committee of the University of Prince Edward Island for their financial support of my research, to the Department of Classical Studies at the University of Ottawa for their hospitality during the sabbatical in which this article was prepared, and to Professor Roger Blockley of Carleton University, Ottawa, for his advice.

PRESENTATIONS OF VICTORY ON THE THEODOSIAN OBELISK BASE

In 390, Theodosius commissioned an Egyptian obelisk to stand in the *spina* of the Hippodrome in Constantinople. All that remains of the monument is the base, which is divided into two parts and decorated with relief sculpture (1). On opposite sides of the lowest portion appear two inscriptions, one in Greek and the other in Latin, concerning the dedication of the obelisk, while the two remaining sides depict the obelisk's erection and a horse race. The four main panels, on the upper part of the base, emphasize the monument's setting by portraying the emperor in the Hippodrome, engaged in various activities ; from the imperial boxes, he and his attendants interact with his subjects who fill a lower register. One of these reliefs, on the southeast side facing the *kathisma*, above the Latin inscription, presents Theodosius standing in the *stama*, holding a wreath in his right hand ; he is presented in frontal hierarchy, flanked by his sons Arcadius and Honorius. On both sides of the stama are arrayed members of the imperial family and various public officials, while a retinue of bodyguards stands to the rear (2). In the lower register are two rows of spectators who watch

(1) The obelisk was originally made for Thutmosis III in the fifteenth century BC. The fullest discussions of the monument are G. BRUNS, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel*, Istanbul, 1935 ; H. WREDE, *Zur Errichtung des Theodosius-Obelisken in Istanbul*, in *Ist. Mitt.* 16 (1966), pp. 178-98 ; J.-Ch. BALTY, *Hiérarchie de l'empire et image du monde*, in *Byz.* 52 (1982), pp. 60-71 ; S. REBENICH, *Zum Theodosiusobelisken in Konstantinopel*, in *Ist. Mitt.* 41 (1991), pp. 447-76 ; L. SAFRAN, *Points of View : The Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context*, in *GRBS* 34 (1993), pp.409-35 ; B. KIILERICH, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts : Studies in the So-called Theodosian Renaissance*, Odense, 1993, pp. 31-49. For the Roman use of Egyptian obelisks, see WREDE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 184-88, and E. DEMOUGFOT, *Obélisques égyptiens transférés à Rome en 357 et à Constantinople en 390*, in *L'Empire romain et les barbares d'Occident IVe-VIIe siècle). Scripta Varia*, Paris, 1988, pp. 253-72.

My thanks go to Dr. Francis Newton for comments on an earlier version of this paper, and to Marianne Eiselt for her help.

(2) The relief on the southeast side is the only one to show the emperor in the *stama*, the others depicting him in the *kathisma*. The *stama* was nearer the track and is presumed to be the place from which the games were started ; see REBENICH, *loc. cit.*, p. 460.

musical performances. The scene is variously interpreted, and there is little agreement on the significance of the wreath, nor is there consensus concerning the identity of the figures portrayed. However, a review of the non-specific nature of the references contained in the reliefs, and the way in which they point to a generic victory celebration, suggests that this lack of agreement might arise from a deliberate attempt to attach a multiplicity of meanings to the various scenes.

The obelisk was erected to commemorate Theodosius' defeat in 388 of a pair of usurpers, Maximus and his son Victor, who were forging their own empire in the West. That the work was intended as a victory monument is made clear by the inscriptions, of which the Latin more fully relates the events (3) :

DIFFICILIS QVONDAM DOMINIS PARERE SERENIS
IVSSVS ET EXTINCTIS PALMAM PORTARE TYRANNIS
OMNIA THEODOSIO CEDVNT SVBOLIQVE PERENNI
TER DENIS SIC VICTVS EGO DOMITVSQVE DIEBVS
IVDICE SVB PROCLO SV[PERA]S ELATVS AD AVRAS

The victory is thus characterized as one over tyranny (*extinctis ... tyrannis*), without specific mention of Maximus or of the Emperor's role in the campaign ; nor is the event depicted in any of the artistic decoration on the base. Indeed, it was customary on imperial victory monuments not to refer to a usurper by name, referring instead simply to the *tyrannus* (4). However, if one compares the Arch of Constantine, where Maxentius is also not named in the dedicatory inscription, Constantine's struggle is made more specific both by the fuller allusion in the inscription and by references to it in the Constantinian decoration. The inscription on the obelisk base, on the other hand, treats Theodosius' victory only in passing and is more concerned with the obelisk's own defeat at the hands of the Emperor ; once difficult, it is now tamed (cf. *iussus, victus, domitus*) and it celebrates the Emperor's accomplishments in first person. Accordingly, on an adjacent side of

(3) *CIL* 3.737. On the inscriptions, see BRUNS, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32, and figs. 33-34, WREDE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 188-91, and BALTY, *loc. cit.*, pp. 61-62. The Greek inscription is less detailed than the Latin, concentrating only on the monument's erection and relating that it took thirty-two days. On the differences between the inscriptions, see esp. SAFRAN, *loc. cit.*, pp. 419-23. On the war with Maximus, see S. WILLIAMS and G. FRIELL, *Theodosius : The Empire at Bay*, New Haven, 1995, pp. 61-66.

(4) Cf. SAFRAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 410 n. 6.

the base, the obelisk is depicted in the process of being tamed, as workers toil to erect it (5), while there is nothing in the artistic decoration that relates directly to the defeat of Maximus. Thus, the specific purpose of the monument is downplayed.

In fact, the only reference to a military victory is found in a conventional submission scene. On the northwest side, above the Greek inscription, Theodosius sits in the *kathisma* and receives tribute from ten kneeling barbarians, identified as Persians, Germans and one African (6). However, it is unlikely that the scene represents an actual event, since Theodosius enjoyed diplomatic relations with the Persians, and was often at war with a variety of Gothic tribes. Rather, the scene presents Theodosius in the traditional role of triumphant emperor, *semper victor omnium gentium*. These suppliants represent the extremes of the empire and by focusing on them, the artist is able to allude to the Emperor's *clementia* and avoid the potentially embarassing reference to the usurpers. If there is to be seen a reference to his war against Maximus, it may be found in the idea that the war was justified, as such surrender scenes are the most common way of demonstrating the emperor's *clementia* on imperial monuments (7). Indeed, Theodosius does appear to have shown clemency in dealing with the Roman supporters of Maximus, both those who had followed him and those senators who had voiced support for him (8). Thedosian clemency is thus traditionally portrayed in the submission scene. In addition, even though the barbarians are not specific to the victory alluded to in the inscription, they do provide a parallel to the taming of the obelisk, the African perhaps an indication of the obelisk's origin.

The general nature of the decoration can also be found in the praises the monument is commanded to sing ("All things yield to Theodosius and his unending line"), praises that can naturally be imagined as

(5) KIELERICH, *op. cit.*, p. 34 n. 100, suggests that the scene might depict the hauling of the obelisk prior to its erection.

(6) BRUNS, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41. While the Persians, on the left, and the Germans, on the right, are readily recognizable, the identity of one of the barbarians among the group of Germans as an African is disputed. On the attempts to identify the nationalities of the figures, see KIELERICH, *op. cit.*, p. 41, with notes.

(7) See P. G. HAMBERG, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, Rome, 1968, pp. 90-92, and A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, rep. London, 1971, pp. 54-57.

(8) Cf. WILLIAMS and FRIELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66. PACATUS, *Pan. Lat.* 2.44.2-3, even hints at clemency for Maximus, but this notion is certainly to be attributed to the exaggeration of the panegyrist.

forming part of the song of the chorus of singers pictured above the inscription. To complete the idea, the objects of this praise are presented in the larger panel above, as Theodosius and his sons, the *suboli perenni* of the inscription, look out from the *stama*. The praise itself is generic, appropriate for any victory. An element of festivity is added by the inclusion of the dancers and singers, suppressing the specific military circumstances in the same way as the submission scene does. The fact that these two scenes appear above the inscriptions securely relates them to the monument's theme. The parallels between the Latin inscription and the artistic design on the monument are deliberately vague in their portrayal of Theodosius' victory and thus de-emphasize the actual circumstances of Maximus' defeat, while the Emperor's presence and relationship to the capital and people are emphasized.

Turning to the main scene on the southeast side, we may note a similar de-emphasis of specific allusions. While it is generally agreed that the panel depicts a victory celebration of some sort, the exact nature of the victory is not made clear. Is it that of the emperor, or of an athlete in the hippodrome, and if it does refer to an imperial victory, is it his victory over Maximus? In fact, the scene is so ambiguous in its depiction of events, that there is no agreement concerning the identity of the central figure and arguments have been advanced to support the presence of either Theodosius or Arcadius. While the usual interpretation is that we have Theodosius flanked by his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, it has been noted that Arcadius lacks the imperial diadem, which he should be wearing since he had been appointed *augustus* in 383, suggesting that he might be the central figure. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that Theodosius would be absent from the central panel on his own victory monument, the only panel that would be seen from the emperor's main box, the *kathisma*. It is possible, as Kiilerich suggests, that the image is deliberately open to interpretation, representing not a specific emperor, but "the embodiment of imperial majesty" (9). Thus the artist is not concerned with presenting specific individuals at a specific event, content instead to portray an emperor and his sons, flanked by the Senate, at a public event of celebration. The scene then becomes one of general harmony between the present ruling powers (emperor and Senate) and

(9) KIILERICH, *op. cit.*, p. 39. On the identification of the figures, see the recent discussions of REBENICH, *loc. cit.*, pp. 469-76, and KIILERICH, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40.

future ruling powers (the emperor's sons), reinforcing the idea of *Theodosio ... subolique perenni*. Such a possibility is in keeping with the general depictions of victory contained in both the inscriptions and the submission scene.

Given this ambiguity, it is not surprising that a number of possibilities have been put forward concerning the identification of the wreath that the emperor holds. It has, for instance, been closely connected with the games of the hippodrome, and suggested that it is the victor's wreath, either given by the victorious chariot driver to the emperor, or about to be bestowed upon him by the emperor. The athlete's victory can thus be seen as symbolic of the emperor's victory ([10]). It has also been suggested that the wreath is the *aurum oblaticium*, a gift given to the emperor in late antiquity by the Senate, comparable to the honorary *aurum coronarium* and the subject of a number of late imperial panegyrics. The scene can be compared to one on the east side of the base of the Obelisk of Arcadius, where both Arcadius and Honorius are seen receiving a wreath ([11]). It is also possible that the wreath is the *corona triumphalis*, represented on numerous imperial victory monuments as an offering from the goddess Victoria to the triumphant emperor during his triumphal procession. Such depictions are found throughout the imperial period, and even into the Christian period ([12]). While not discounting the first two possibilities, I would like to expand upon the third suggestion, with the intention of offering a slightly different interpretation of the wreath.

The bestowal of the *corona triumphalis* is traditionally depicted as a part of the triumphal procession in scenes that emphasize the first

(10) See, e.g., N. HANNESTAD, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, Aarhus, 1988, p. 337, and KIILERICH, *loc. cit*, p. 37. A. CAMERON, *Porphyrius the Charioteer*, Oxford, 1973, p. 51, compares the scene to the early sixth century Porphyrius base.

(11) REBENICH, *loc. cit.*, pp. 460-63 ; cf. S.G. MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1981, p. 5. On the comparison with the Obelisk of Arcadius, see REBENICH, *loc. cit.*, p. 461, with n. 86.

(12) Cf. GRABAR, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Depictions can be found, for example, on the Arch of Titus, the Trajanic frieze on the Arch of Constantine, and the *adventus* panel depicting (presumably) Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine. On the Obelisk of Arcadius, Victories carry a variety of wreaths, some of which contain the chi-rho symbol, while on a diptych from the time of Justinian (Paris, Louvre OA 9063), a partially preserved Victory floats above an emperor on horseback, arm raised, presumably bestowing a crown, while another Victory appears as a statuette carried by a soldier. The motif of crowning goes back at least to Apelles, who had painted a scene of Alexander and Nike (cf. PLINY, *NH* 35.93). For the motif's appearance on imperial coinage, see HAMBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

stage of the emperor's victory celebrations, the *adventus*, and present him as *praesens deus*. However, by the late fourth century, the nature of the *adventus* and triumphal celebrations was changing, when the Christianization of the empire led to a muting of the idea of the emperor as *praesans deus*, placing more emphasis on his role as leader ([13]). The emperor's triumph would now have highlighted this aspect, culminating with his entry into the hippodrome to preside over the triumphal games. At this stage, the hippodrome assumed cosmic significance, the emperor's presence as head of the games mirroring, on a smaller scale, his role as cosmic ruler, as *victor omnium gentium*. These victory celebrations in the circus, providing a sense of interaction with the citizens, were becoming more common during the fourth century and would, by the fifth, all but replace the triumphal parade ([14]). Thus, the *adventus* was divided into two parts, the first characterized by movement and stressing the military nature of the event, while the second was more static and promoted the emperor as beneficent ruler. Indeed, this is the sequence of events we find in the panegyrics of the period (cf. *Pan. Lat.* 9.19.6 ; Claudian, *VI Cons.* 613-14). The scenes on the obelisk base depicting Theodosius' interaction with the people do represent one aspect of the *adventus*, but it is the second stage, that associated with the circus games ; out of military garb, he now presides over the events of the Hippodrome. Since Victory was almost exclusively associated with the first stage of the triumphal celebrations and was, by her very nature, suggestive of movement, she is omitted from the decoration of the monument. In this way, the emperor's *adventus* can be pictorially represented by static figures frontally displayed, in keeping with the style of the period, even though it is an event associated with movement ([15]).

(13) On the development of the *adventus* in the late fourth century, see MacCormack, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57, arguing that the triumphal entry disappears from celebrations in Constantinople. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory : Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*, Cambridge & Paris, 1986, pp. 91-100, sees the development as part of the emperor's overall decreased role in warfare. Cf. also Hannestad, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.

(14) On the growing political importance of the Hippodrome, see G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale, Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris, 1974, pp.311-19, and Kühnrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

(15) The Arch of Galerius at Thessaloniki is slightly different in its presentation of Victory. On that monument, the goddess does not appear in the panel representing Galerius' *adventus* ; rather, a pair of Victories crown the enthroned *augusti*, Diocletian and Maximianus, on the panel of the Emperors Enthroned. On the hieratic style of

But despite the fact that Victory is not represented on the monument, her traditional role in triumphal celebrations is not altogether ignored. In terms of the artistic reading of the monument, Theodosius is imagined as having already had his triumphal procession, during which, following previous depictions of the *adventus*, Victory would have bestowed upon him the *corona triumphalis*. Theodosius did celebrate his victory over Maximus with triumphal entries into Haemona and Rome, described by Pacatus in his panegyric for the Emperor ([16]). The wreath that Theodosius holds in the southeast relief, then, is most likely to be thought of as the one that traditional representations would have shown being bestowed upon him by Victory during the first stage of the *adventus*. Since this part of the *adventus* was typically not presented by the late fourth century artist, it is alluded to by the presence of the wreath in the emperor's hands. That the scene is a representation of the emperor's *adventus* is reinforced by the inclusion of the singers and dancers below the panel. Since early in the imperial period, singers sang in celebration for the emperor on his return to Rome ([17]). In detailing the acclamations bestowed upon Augustus, Suetonius notes that the *princeps* was greeted on his return from the province by choruses of singers ([18]). In addition, Dio (74.1.4) records the celebrations honouring Septimius Severus on his *adventus*, mentioning that the people, dressed in white, sang unceasing praises ; and the practice continues down to the time of Theodoric (cf. Cassiod. *Var.* 1.31). Finally, we have Pacatus' own description of Theodosius' entry into Haemona, where the emperor was met by dancers and choruses of singers (*Pan. Lat.* 2.37.3) : *Ferebant se obviae tripudiantium caterva, cuncta cantu et crotalis personabant. Hic ubi triumphum chorus...dicebat.* The situation described by Pacatus closely resembles the scene

the period, see, in general, KIILERICH, *op. cit.* ; on that of the obelisk, see also SAHRAN, *loc. cit.*, pp. 411-12, with notes.

(16) Cf. PACATUS, *Pan. Lat.* 2.37 ; 47. The *adventus* into Rome was timed to coincide with the first anniversary of Maximus' defeat. See further MACCORMACK, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51, MCCORMICK, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 n. 44, 85, and WILLIAMS and FRIELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

(17) See H. P. L'ORANGE, *The Adventus Ceremony and the Slaying of Pentheus as represented in two Mosaics of about A.D. 300*, in *Likeness and Icon : Selected Studies in Classical and Early Mediaeval Art*, Odense, 1973, pp. 176-78, and further references cited there.

(18) SUET. *Vit. Aug.* 57.2 : reverentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequebantur.

represented on the panel below Theodosius in the *stama*. When considered in this light, the chorus of singers on the obelisk base can be seen not only as a generic element of victory offering praise to the emperor, but also as a specific reference to the imperial *adventus*. Although the scene itself is not a representation of the entry into Haemona, since the architecture secures the setting as the Hippodrome, it can clearly be read as a traditional *adventus* scene.

This argument has been advanced not to counter others, but to add to them. The wreath is seen not only as a reward for athletic victory and as a senatorial gift, but also as a traditional honour signifying imperial victory. Its importance lies not so much in the particular significance attached to it by any one interpretation, but in the variety of meanings that it conveys. Just as the specific military victory is glossed over in the inscriptions, which allows the monument to commemorate a number of victories (including that over the monument itself), so too the wreath serves to present a number of different ideas of victory : athletic, civic and military. In addition, the wreath serves to connect the scene to the inscription below ; the *palma* the obelisk is commanded to carry is made manifest in the wreath held by Theodosius. Furthermore, if we accept that the wreath may refer to the emperor's bestowal on a victorious charioteer, there is yet another connection to be made with earlier imperial victory monuments, in that Theodosius himself has assumed the role of Victory ; he holds the wreath ready to crown a victor. The scene of the emperor holding the wreath is thus intended to express victory on a number of levels.

The monument contains traditional images of victory, adapted to the changing nature of the triumph in late antiquity ; they are allusive and their precise reference is unspecified, to be inferred by the spectator. The relief on the southeast side of the base calls to mind the earlier stage of the triumphal celebrations and the part that Victory would have played in them, but it also contains other allusions. Consequently the wreath symbolizes Theodosius' victory in the same way as do the Latin inscription and its parallels with the barbarians and the chorus of singers. In each of these instances, the immediate focus is on the ceremonial aspects of Theodosius' victory, not on its military overtones. The barbarians submit in the Hippodrome as part of an unspecified celebration, and a similar explanation holds for the singers, whose song is hinted at in the Latin inscription. But in each of these scenes we can also see a reference to the traditional depiction of imperial victory,

specifically to the emperor's *adventus*. Safran (423-27) has shown that the scenes and inscriptions would have been clearly visible to the spectators on the long sides of the Hippodrome ; Theodosius and his entourage occupied the area facing the southeast side of the base, while the northeast side, containing the submission scene and the Greek inscription, would have faced the rival sporting factions. The other two sides, containing more generic representations of Theodosius and less distinguished in their execution, faced the masses, who were seated at a much greater distance. The scenes of most importance, by virtue both of their relation to the inscriptions as well as of the ideas of victory they depict, were thus visible to the parties most likely able to understand their meanings. For all of these more important spectators, the decoration on the obelisk base presents an emperor victorious in all aspects.

The University of New Brunswick. John GEYSSEN.

THE SURVIVAL OF CITIES IN BYZANTINE ANATOLIA : THE CASE OF AMORIUM

The Amorium Excavations Project started in 1987 under the inspirational directorship of the late Professor Martin Harrison (1). From the outset the principal aim of working at Amorium has been to trace through the archaeological record the developments and changes that the city underwent during the half millennium or so from the late antique period to the high middle ages, and particular interest has been focussed on the Byzantine Dark Ages. Nowhere else in Turkey has this been attempted. Indeed, Amorium was specifically chosen because it was seen as the ideal site at which to carry out such an investigation. There are two main reasons why this is so; firstly, as the capital of the largest and most powerful theme in the Byzantine Empire, it was probably the greatest and most important city in the whole of Anatolia during the 7th-9th centuries and, secondly, since the site is now largely abandoned and has not been covered with a massive overburden resulting from Ottoman and modern Turkish occupation, it provided ideal conditions in which to carry out excavations (2). A subsidiary aim has been, of course, to find archaeological

(1) This paper represents a revised and updated version of an illustrated talk given at the 30th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, „Dead or Alive? The Byzantine World in the Ninth Century", held at the University of Birmingham, England, in March 1996. It includes some preliminary results from the ninth excavation season, which took place between July 2 and August 20, 1996. I would also like to acknowledge here the invaluable and unfailing support of the Directorate of Monuments and Museums at the Ministry of Culture in Ankara. The fact that the Turkish authorities provide so much help and encouragement for work at what is essentially a Byzantine site is as laudable as it is welcome.

(2) The modern village of Hisarköy was not established until 1892, but it remains uncertain at what date the ancient and mediaeval site had been abandoned. A settlement (under the name of Hisarcık) is recorded there, for example, in the Ottoman records for the year 1530 ; cf. *438 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530)*, I : *Kütahya, Kara-hisâr-i Sâhib, Sultan-önü Hamîd ve Ankara Livâları*, Ankara 1993, § 202. In 1996 a new trench opened on the Upper City mound provided for the first

evidence for the siege of 838, which is well documented in both Byzantine and Arab sources (3). This adds a certain romance and popular appeal to the excavations, but the search for physical traces of the capture and sack of the city by the caliph's forces also has a proper scientific rationale behind it. For it has been recognised from the beginning that, if destruction layers could be identified and tied in with the events of 838, they would provide a clear archaeological horizon from which both to work back and forward. A precise date in the mid-9th century for certain stratigraphic deposits would thus furnish a chronological framework that has until now been largely lacking in the archaeology of the Middle Byzantine period (4).

The Urban Environment in the Dark Ages

Much scholarly effort has gone into tracing, analysing and discussing the decline of urban civilisation at the end of antiquity (5). The phenomenon is especially apparent in the once great and prosperous cities along the west and south coasts of Anatolia (6). The emphasis

time clear evidence for permanent occupation of the site well into Ottoman times. The finds from this trench included clay tobacco-pipe bowls, the iron mechanism from a flint-lock musket and a silver *para* of Sultan Mustafa III (dated AH 1182 = AD 1769).

(3) For references, see W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780-842*, Stanford 1988, pp. 444-445, note 415.

(4) The paucity of dated material from the 7th-9th century was strikingly illustrated by the handbook to an exhibition entitled „Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture", held at the British Museum in the winter of 1994/5. The catalogue includes over 130 exhibits belonging to the 4th-6th century and nearly 100 items for the period stretching from the end of iconoclasm to the fall of Constantinople, but it can offer only some seven objects (nos. 108-9, 135-9) to represent the intervening centuries, and four of these are pieces of silk ; see D. Buckton, *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, London 1994.

(5) C. Foss, *The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity*, in *English Historical Review* 90 (1975), pp. 721-47 ; C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of the New Rome*, London 1994, pp. 60ff. ; R. Cormack, *Byzantine Aphrodisias : changing the symbolic map of a city*, in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 216, ns. 36 (1990), pp. 28-32 ; A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600*, London 1993, pp. 152ff.

(6) C. Foss, *Archaeology and the „Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977), pp. 469-486 ; C. Foss, *The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age*, in *DOP* 48 (1994), esp. pp. 2-3, 41 (Xanthos), 48-50 ; C. Williams, *A Byzantine Well-Deposit from Anemurium (Rough Cilicia)*, in *Anatolian Studies* XXVII (1977), p. 175 ; J. Russell, *Anemurium : the Changing Face of a Roman City*, in *Archaeology* 33.5 (1980), p. 40.

on coastal cities is to some extent the result of historic accident and is in part explained by the better state of preservation and the greater touristic potential of such sites. By contrast, scant regard has been paid to many sites on the Anatolian plateau. But it is also patently true that the urban civilization of the Graeco-Roman world was founded on the Mediterranean basin, the sea being an essential basic element in its formation and development. Various disasters, both natural and man-made, severely disrupted the smooth-running of this Mediterranean-wide network of cities during the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century. This inevitably affected the prosperity of inland cities as much as it did the coastal metropoleis; many dwindled or disappeared, as in the cases of Sardis, Pessinus, Sagalassos and Aezani (7). Other examples are less certain; Aphrodisias, for example, has produced a considerable amount of Byzantine material, but interest in other aspects of the site has led to a sad neglect of this important body of evidence (8). Literary sources, however, bear witness to the increasing cultural and social significance of such inland cities during late antiquity. The prestige that Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, acquired from frequently being an imperial residence and the intellectual pretensions of its inhabitants in the second half of the 4th century are but a reflection of the growing importance of sites on the major highways that ran across Anatolia from the capital to the eastern frontier (9). The rise of Amorium must be seen in the same light. From a small and fairly insignificant city in the Roman province of Asia it developed during the course of the 5th and 6th centuries until by the middle of the 7th century it was chosen as a major military base and so became by the end of the same century the capital of the Anatolic

(7) C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 4), Cambridge Mass. 1976, pp. 55-56, 59-60 ; J. Devreker & F. Vermeulen, *Pessinonte (Turquie). La ville antique et son territoire*, Bruxelles 1994, pp. 8, 17-18 ; M. Waelkens (ed.), *Sagalassos I. First General Report on the Survey (1986-1989) and Excavations (1990-1991)*, Leuven 1993, p. 48-49 ; R. Naumann, *Der Zeustempel zu Aizanoi*, Berlin 1979, pp. 10, 76-78.

(8) Cormack, *op. cit.* [note 5], p. 27 ; cf. also R. Cormack, *The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine City : the Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias*, in M. Mullett & R. Scott (eds.), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. 13th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979*, Birmingham 1981, pp. 103-118.

(9) C. Foss, *Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara*, in *DOP* 31 (1977), pp. 41-51 ; S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, Oxford 1993, Vol. II, pp. 84-88.

theme ([10]). The choice can only be explained within the larger strategic and historical context, for it is not an obvious site for a defensive fortress intended to play a major role in opposing the Arab invasions that frequently swept across the plateau during the Byzantine Dark Ages.

It has been argued that the 7th and 8th centuries were a time of tremendous insecurity in Anatolia, during which a much depleted population withdrew from the open plains to hilltop refuges. It has further been maintained that, since military considerations were paramount, cities as such disappeared and settlements became concentrated around a number of defensible castles ([11]). This view may be accepted as a general principle, but in the case of Amorium it must be recognised that other factors were involved, as a result of which the city was very much an exception to the rule. Only a brief acquaintance with the site will prove that Amorium does not fit at all well into the pattern of „a city on a hill" ([12]). Archaeology cannot explain the various fortuitous events that brought this about, but it can illustrate the way in which the city underwent a massive transformation but nevertheless survived into the 9th century and beyond. It has been remarked that, although the survival of cities such as Amorium is unusual and unexpected, it reflects the Byzantines' confidence in their ability to hold and protect the rolling plains of north-west Anatolia in the face of repeated Arab invasions ([13]).

The historian al-Tabari claimed that Ankara and Amorium were the two greatest cities in the lands of the „Rum" at the beginning of the 9th century ([14]). Another Arab source, writing in *c.* 840, described the latter city as having a lofty circuit wall, strengthened with forty-

(10) J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 113 and 216 ; for an overview of the debate about the origins of the „themes", cf. J. Haldon, *Military Service, Military Lands and the Status of Soldiers : Current Problems and Interpretations*, in *DOP* 47 (1993), pp. 2-11.

(11) C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome*, New York 1980, p. 73 ; C. Foss & D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications. An Introduction*, Pretoria 1986, pp. 15-17 ; C. Foss, *Byzantine Malagina and the Lower Sangarius*, in *Anatolian Studies* XL (1990), p. 173.

(12) Cormack, *op. cit.* [note 5], p. 36.

(13) J. Howard-Johnston & N. Ryan, *The Scholar and the Gypsy*, London 1992, p. 218-219.

(14) Haldon, *op. cit.* [note 10], p.113 with references in note 59.

four towers and protected by a wide moat ([15]). Certainly, the fortifications that surrounded Byzantine Amorium must have been impressive and formidable. By excavating discrete parts of the city defences it was hoped to learn about the nature and date of the surviving fortifications and of the role they played in the history of the site. Today the line of the city walls can be clearly traced on the ground, making two distinct circuits, one encircling the Upper City and the other surrounding the much larger Lower City. The excavations have revealed stretches of both walls, supplying a great deal of information about their construction and clues as to their date.

The Lower City Walls

There is as yet no archaeological evidence to indicate whether or not the Hellenistic and Roman settlement at Amorium was ever fortified. But of the surviving walls the earliest is undoubtedly that surrounding the Lower City. Without the help of epigraphic evidence it is difficult to date these defences precisely. It is clear, however, that by the end of the 6th century Amorium was furnished with walls, for during his travels in central Anatolia St. Theodore of Sykeon paid a visit to Amorium and was greeted enthusiastically by the townsfolk, who came out of the city „beyond the walls" to welcome him ([16]). Indeed, the account also reveals that some of the inhabitants still had houses outside the walls; St. Theodore stayed in one such suburban villa, complete with its own chapel (*τὸ εὐκτηρίον τῆς Θεοτόκου*), belonging to a leading citizen, an illustris called Anastasius ([17]).

The excavations on the south side of the Lower City have revealed a stretch of the city wall and a gateway, flanked to the right by a large triangular tower. The wall is massively constructed, employing in its lower courses large, freshly quarried blocks of local limestone. The tower is an integral part of the defences, intended to protect the vulnerable gateway, and the existence of another must be postulated

(15) Ibn-Khordādhbeh, *Bibliotheca geographica arabicorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 1889, vi, 77-80.

(16) A. J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn* I-II (Subs. Hag. 48), Bruxelles 1970, § 107 : *καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἡ πόλις μετὰ λιτὼν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους.*

(17) Festugière, *loc. cit.* [note 16]. Mitchell wrongly supposes this to be a reference to an extra-mural church dedicated to the Virgin Mary ; *op. cit.* [note 9], Vol. II, p. 129.

to the other side of the gate. Close parallels for such triangular towers cannot easily be found ([18]).

A number of charred wooden beams were recovered in 1993 from the massive collapse inside the tower. Prof. Peter Kuniholm and his staff at the Malcolm and Carolyn Wiener Laboratory for Aegean and Near Eastern Dendrochronology (Cornell University) have been able to place the oak samples in a master chronology, giving the tree from which the wood was cut a life-span starting in 362 and ending some time after 487 ([19]). It is tempting to associate this evidence with the fortification of Amorium that is ascribed to the emperor Zeno (474-491) by a later Byzantine source ([20]).

The length of this circuit of walls prompts questions about how and by whom they were manned. But, whether they were guarded by imperial troops or local militia recruited from the city's inhabitants, it would have required a sizeable force to man the defences effectively against attack. The future emperor Leo III is said to have placed a garrison of only 800 men in Amorium in 716, but this seems wholly inadequate to protect the city in the face of a concerted Arab attack ([21]). It may be argued that by this time the Lower City walls had already been abandoned and that only the Upper City was fortified, but this theory seems to run counter to much of the archaeological evidence. In addition, while no great reliance can be placed on the numbers given by the sources for the size of the population gathered inside Amorium at the time of the siege in 838, the fortress was defended by a substantial force, comprising not only troops of the Anatolic

(18) The Amorium tower is clearly different from the (pentagonal) prow-shaped towers and the solid triangular bastions discussed by Foss & Winfield, *op. cit.* [note 11], pp. 30-31 and 140. The towers of the Byzantine fortress on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos would appear to belong to this type rather than the Amorium example ; *pace* R. M. Harrison, *Amorium 1988. The First Preliminary Excavation*, in *Anatolian Studies* XXXIX (1989), p. 174 ; cf. Foss, *op. cit.* [note 6], p. 11, fig. 22. A parallel may, however, be found at Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, partially concealed behind the modern Post Office ; it is not mentioned by Foss & Winfield, *op. cit.*, p. 135. One may also usefully compare the hollow triangular towers arranged along the circuit wall of Caesareia Cappadociae (Kayseri) ; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*. Tome I : *Kayseri-Niğde*, Paris 1931, p. 21, figs. 2-3, pl. III.2.

(19) The beams had been squared and trimmed of their bark, so it is impossible to tell exactly when the tree or trees were felled.

(20) Georgius Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, I, p. 615.

(21) J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.)*, Vol. 2, repr. Amsterdam 1966, p. 378.

theme, under the command of their strategus, Aëtius, but also three of the four tagmata (22). These troops may be regarded as sufficiently numerous to man the walls around the Lower City.

The interior of the triangular tower has been found to contain a massive destruction layer, with the jumble of debris comprising brick and tile, charred timbers, broken and scattered pottery vessels, several iron arrow and spearheads and even pieces of textile. The floor and walls reveal traces of a major conflagration, which was responsible for the collapse of the upper stories of the tower. A number of coins were also recovered from inside the tower, the latest of which is a follis of Theophilus, although it would be unwise to put too much emphasis on the find of a single coin. More significant is the fact that ash samples, taken in 1992 from the upper layers within the triangular tower, have provided a C-14 intercept date of *c.*800 (within a broad date-range of 770-885 at 1 sigma calibration with 68% probability). So the scientific evidence indicates that part, at least, of the tower's construction can be dated no earlier than the end of the 5th century and that its destruction occurred in the late 8th or early 9th century. Unless the catastrophe was a natural disaster of some sort, which seems unlikely, the obvious conclusion is that it relates to the events in the summer of 838. The fact that the Lower City walls were still being used at the beginning of the 9th century would also appear to discredit the view that the city had shrunk drastically in the Dark Ages, withdrawing inside the circuit of walls around the Upper City (23). Indeed, although there may have been a break in occupation in this area of the city after 838, it would not seem to have been for much more than a century. The ruined city walls were cleared and adapted to form the foundations of a series of Middle Byzantine buildings that probably served as domestic quarters. One room produced a small hoard of 11th-century coins that may be associated with the Turkish raid on Amorium in 1068 or, possibly, with a more general feeling of insecurity in the aftermath of the battle of Manzikert (24).

(22) P. CHARANIS, *The demography of the Byzantine Empire*, in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford 1967, p. 452. Treadgold estimated that the normal population of Amorium in the latter part of the 8th century was about 30,000 ; *op. cit.* [note 3], p. 41. This figure should be treated with caution but not, perhaps, with total incredulity.

(23) HOWARD-JOHNSTON & RYAN, *op. cit.* [note 13], p. 218.

(24) The hoard comprised one gold scyphate histamenon of Constantine X (1059-1067) and twenty-two copper anonymous folles of Class G (*c.* 1065 - *c.*1070) ; cf. R. M.

The Upper City Fortifications

The excavations have shown that the wall encircling the Upper City had two distinct phases. The earlier circuit was made out of large re-used blocks (*spolia*) taken from buildings of the Roman city and, most especially, from the extensive cemeteries that surrounded it. The use of such material suggests that construction took place not only at a time when Amorium was under threat but also when the city was in a state of decay and transformation ([25]). The use of large numbers of Roman tombstones must have entailed the despoliation of the city's traditional necropolis, an act which presumably had the active support and consent of not only the local authorities but also the provincial governor ([26]). Stretches of wall made up of such *spolia* can still be seen protruding from the present-day surface at the edge of the mound. On the north slope, however, it has been found that this wall was extensively robbed many centuries ago. The stratigraphy exposed in the side of the trench clearly indicates that the wall was robbed out and backfilled before the second-phase defensive wall was built ([27]).

This second wall was first exposed along the south side of the Upper City. It is different again, comprising small, irregular blockwork and pieces of brick. The interior face of the wall has a series of buttresses, and similar features were observed at several other points around the mound during the preliminary survey conducted in 1990. In the places

Harrison *et al.*, *Amorium Excavations 1990 : The Third Preliminary Report*, in *Anatolian Studies* XLI (1991), p. 222.

(25) Foss has recently argued that the use of *spolia* "need not be taken as evidence for urban decline" ; *op. cit.* [note 6], p. 46. While it may be true that the Byzantines looked upon the demolition of old buildings in a „positive" way, if only as a readily accessible source of building material, the disappearance of many public monuments and amenities from the urban landscape must have lessened a city's quality of life. Urban renewal has been sweeping across Anatolia again during the past twenty-five years, but not everyone would agree that the replacement of the old timber-frame Ottoman konak houses with concrete apartment blocks is an improvement.

(26) Many Roman tombs carry formulaic inscriptions aimed at preventing their misuse and misappropriation ; cf., for example, Mitchell, *op. cit.* [note 9], Vol. II, p. 35 (Jews), p. 37-38 (Christians at Nicaea), p. 40 (Christians at Eumeneia), p. 47 (Sebaste in Phrygia). Even as late as the beginning of the 7th century Euphrantas, governor of Galatia Prima, arrested men suspected of conducting treasure-hunts, some explicitly on a charge of having disturbed old tombs ; cf. Festugière, *op. cit.* [note 16], § 116.11-15 ; Mitchell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 127-128 and 148-149.

(27) C. S. Lightfoot, E. A. Ivison *et al.*, *Amorium Excavations 1994 : The Seventh Preliminary Report*, in *Anatolian Studies* XLV (1995), p. 121, pl. XV(b).

where the *spolia* blocks of the first-phase wall are now visible on the surface it must be assumed that all trace of the later wall has disappeared. But elsewhere it clearly survives to a considerable height; for example, the excavations on the north side of the Upper City have exposed of a short stretch of wall that is still two metres high, while on the south side this wall is visible lying immediately on top of the remains of the first-phase wall.

One of the reasons for opening the trench on the north side of the mound was to investigate the nature of the fortifications there and to compare them with those on the south side. Despite the fact that the north wall looks out across open country whereas the southern stretch of wall overlooks the Lower City, no difference was found in their construction technique. At both points the second-phase wall was found to be identical in dimensions and appearance, and it may be taken as good evidence for the view that by the time this wall was constructed the Lower City was no longer fortified. This view is further strengthened by the existence of a series of small projecting towers all around the circuit. The 1990 survey showed that a total of up to 24 towers were positioned at fairly regular intervals about every 25 metres ([28]). Although none of these towers has yet been excavated, they may confidently be attributed to the later period of fortifications. Surface survey has also shown that at one point on the west side of the mound one of these rectangular towers had replaced an earlier, far larger square bastion. Significantly, perhaps, no trace of any similar massive structures has been found on the south or east sides of the Upper City. So, it would seem that the earlier fortifications on the north and west sides of the mound where they formed the primary line of defence were more substantial.

It is possible, therefore, to offer as a working hypothesis the following interpretation of the archaeological evidence. The use of *spolia* in the construction of fortifications is usually taken to indicate a period of insecurity and uncertainty, when a city had to take urgent measures to protect itself against attack. Clearly, the work at Amorium cannot be assigned to the first spate of such fortification-building at cities in Anatolia during the troubles of the mid-3rd century ([29]). The use of *spolia*, however, is also common to many Byzantine fortifications, and

(28) HARRISON, *op. cit.* [note 24], p. 216, fig. 1.
(29) FOSS & WINFIELD, *op. cit.* [note 10], pp. 125-129.

a date in the early or mid-7th century would not seem inappropriate for the construction of the first-phase wall around the Upper City (30). Indeed, it may have been prompted not so much by the Persian raids in the 610-20s as by the new role that Amorium assumed as the headquarters of the *magister militum per Orientem* in the 640s (31). So, while the civilian inhabitants, perhaps, continued to look to the Lower City walls for protection, the military may have established a secure base in the most suitable position, the Upper City (32). The mound presumably fulfilled the same functions as the citadel at Ankara, when these two places became thematic capitals in the latter part of the 7th century, but in terms of geography there is little similarity between the two. Ankara castle is by far the more attractive site as a defensive position (33). It hardly needs to be stated that Byzantine high command's reluctance to withdraw from the site completely and to seek a more defensible location must say something about the strength and vitality of the urban community at Amorium at the beginning of the Dark Ages (34). In one respect, however, Amorium may serve as a model for Ankara, for it has usually been assumed that the Byzantine city at the latter site was confined to the citadel. The evidence presented here for Amorium, however, may suggest that at a number of important centres the size of the urban settlement was larger and not restricted to such defensive positions. As at Amorium, Ankara in the early 9th century may have had an extensive civilian

(30) Foss & Winfield, *op. cit.* [note 10], pp. 131-135, 137 and 162, with figs. 6 (Sardis), 7 (Ephesus), 8 (Pergamum), 12, 18-19 (Ankara), 13 (Prusa) and 14 (Sozopolis).

(31) Foss, *op. cit.* [note 9], p. 73.

(32) This duality may find a parallel at Amasra where the Byzantine successor to the classical city was confined to Zindan Kalesi, while Boz Tepe became a fortified base for the imperial fleet ; cf. J. Crow & S. Hill, *The Byzantine Fortifications of Amastris in Paphlagonia*, in *Anatolian Studies* XLV (1995), esp. p. 256.

(33) Foss, *op. cit.* [note 9], p. 74-75. Likewise, the citadels of Sardis, Pergamum and Ayasoluk at Ephesus are defensively much stronger than the Upper City at Amorium. The closest parallel is, perhaps, the Dark Age fortified settlement on the theatre hill at Aphrodisias ; cf. Cormack, *op. cit.* [note 5], p. 36.

(34) It should also tell us something about the close interrelationship that quickly developed between the 7th-century field army after its arrival at Amorium and the city which housed and sheltered not only the soldiers but also their families and dependents. As this army evolved into a sort of part-time, locally-based "militia", the ties must inevitably have become even stronger, so reinforcing their resolve to hold the city despite its defensive weaknesses. These comments owe much to the inspiration provided by Haldon's recent article ; *op. cit.* [note 10], pp. 1-67, esp. p. 66.

quarter. This view is strengthen by the results obtained from excavations conducted at Ulus in the centre of old Ankara in the spring of 1995 ([35]).

Like the fortifications of the Lower City, the destruction of the first-phase Upper City wall may be attributed to the disastrous events of 838. The large Roman tombstones that had been incorporated into this wall were then strewn across the Upper City in great confusion. These blocks were later used for a third time in the foundations and lower courses of the houses and workshops that were built on the top of the mound during the Middle Byzantine and Seljuk periods. The fact that these large blocks, eminently suitable for building work, were not incorporated into the second-phase wall is good reason for suggesting that the defences of Amorium were not rebuilt for some considerable time. At Ankara, which also fell to the Arabs in 838, the headquarters of the Bucellarian theme were re-established almost at once, while the walls of the citadel were restored twenty-one years later by the last emperor of the Amorian dynasty, Michael III ([36]). It is, therefore, surprising to find that the emperor rebuilt the walls of Ankara but neglected those of the city with which his family name is closely associated. It should be noted, however, that the conditions surrounding the capture of Ankara and Amorium in 838 were markedly different. Ankara had been deserted by its defenders and inhabitants, so that the Arab forces easily took possession of the city. Moreover, the caliph's army wasted little time at Ankara but quickly pressed on to its ultimate goal, Amorium, which by contrast was well garrisoned and offered stout resistance. The capture of Amorium, therefore, involved much more severe damage to the walls and, whereas Ankara was soon reoccupied by Byzantine troops, Amorium appears to have lain in ruins for a number of years and the military headquarters for the Anatolic theme were meanwhile transferred to nearby Polybotus (Bolvadin) ([37]).

(35) The excavators (principally Prof. Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu and Melih Arslan) deduce that the site provides evidence of continuous occupation throughout the Byzantine period ; cf. *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations : Museum News*, No. 6 (July 1995), pp. 6-7 and No. 7 (January 1996), p. 5 ; İ. Temizsoy *et al.*, *Ulus kazısı 1995*, in *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1995 Yıllığı* (1996), p. 18.

(36) Foss, *op. cit.* [note 9], p. 79 ; Treadgold, *op. cit.* [note 3], p. 304 and note 418 ; Foss & Winfield, *op. cit.* [note 11], p. 143-144.

(37) Treadgold, *loc. cit.* [note 36].

The Lower City Church

The scene of destruction at Amorium in 838 was unprecedented in the annals of the Byzantines' wars with the Arabs. It has been argued above that this event left its mark in the archaeological record; the evidence, however, is not restricted only to the fortifications. The Lower City church is by far the most impressive building uncovered so far. Close examination of the surviving structure in 1994 led us to the conclusion that there are two main phases of construction, not three as previously suggested ([38]). The building was originally an aisled basilica, constructed probably towards the end of the 5th century, but it had been massively rebuilt and turned into a domed basilica in the Middle Byzantine period. The excavation of the church has provided valuable information about the long and chequered history of the building between the late 5th and the 15th century. In 1995 evidence for the destruction of the Phase I basilica by fire was recognised on the interior faces of the Phase I walls. Large areas of the main side walls and a portion of the apse were found to be shattered by extreme heat and blackened by smoke. This damage definitely pre-dated the Middle Byzantine rebuilding, since it was sealed by the piers of the Phase II church and concealed by the earliest layer of fresco. Efforts had also been made during the rebuilding to patch the most damaged areas with plaster. The lower parts of the Phase I walls were the most badly damaged and blackened, suggesting that wooden roof beams had fallen from above and continued to burn whilst lying against the walls. The same phenomenon was observed in 1993 during the excavation of the massive destruction layer in the triangular tower on the Lower City walls.

The conflagration that enveloped the Lower City basilica church cannot as yet be proved conclusively to have been caused by the Arab capture of Amorium in 838. It can, however, be deduced that this major public building had been in use in the Dark Ages and that, when the city recovered in the latter part of the 9th century, the inhabitants were still so attached to it that they were prepared to devote considerable effort and resources to rebuilding the church both on the same scale and to a similar degree of opulence, even though prevailing architectural fashions dictated a radical alteration to the basic structure

(38) Much of the detailed work on the church has been done by Dr. E. A. Ivison.

of the building. We can see, therefore, that both before and after the siege of 838 important areas of the Lower City at Amorium were occupied and continued to play a significant part in the life of the city (39).

Conclusion

The programme of work at Amorium over the past ten years has not only produced impressive results but also gives great encouragement for prospects in the future. The various trenches already supply us with a coherent, if incomplete, picture of the Byzantine city's history and archaeology. Admittedly, we still have little information about the layout and extent of the settlement in the Dark Ages, but in future years much of our efforts will be devoted to investigating areas in the Lower City where we might reasonably hope to find good evidence of domestic occupation. Since the first year of excavation remote-sensing has been seen as a way to aid this work (40). In addition, the regional survey, conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Culture in 1993 and 1994, produced much valuable information about Amorium's hinterland, and it is hoped to build on this knowledge in the coming seasons (41).

We now have a good feel for the physical geography of the site, and this prompts me to make some speculative observations about the city's layout. It is worth considering, for example, whether the

(39) St. Anthony the Younger (785-865) is said to have passed through Amorium in the 820s. For what it is worth Amorium is described there as a „city" ; cf. *Life of Anthony the Younger*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 19.3 (1907), p. 205. Likewise, it is still referred to as a „city" when Ignatius, fourth hegumen of the Bathy Ryax monastery, died at Amorium in the latter part of the 10th century ; cf. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, Bruxelles, 1902, pp. 4-6 and E. Malamut, *Sur la route des Saints Byzantins*, Paris 1993, pp. 303-304. But, as a cautionary note, one may compare references to Sardis and Pergamum as „cities" in 716 ; cf. *Chronicon anonymum ad a.d. 819 pertinens*, ed. I.-B. Capot, in CSCO, *Scriptores Syri* III.xiv, Paris 1920, p. 10.

(40) R. M. Harrison, *Amorium 1988 : The First Preliminary Excavation*, in *Anatolian Studies* XXXIX (1989), p.171, note 11. An aerial survey of the site, using the British Institute's gas-filled blimp, also proved very useful and instructive ; cf. Lightfoot & Ivison, *op. cit.* [note 27], p. 133-134, pls. XIII(b), XVIII(b) and XIX(a).

(41) Lightfoot & Ivison, *op. cit.* [note 27], pp. 134-136 ; C. S. Lightfoot, *Amorium Kazısı 1994*, in *VII. Kazı Sonuçlary Toplantısı* II, Ankara 1996, p. 367, figs. 6-8.

Upper City always served the nucleus of the whole site, or whether in fact the majority of the population only retreated onto the mound when it was built up and refortified sometime after 838, thereby shifting the entire focus of the settlement. One very prominent and intriguing feature of the site is the large, roughly trapezoidal area that occupies much of the ground between the south-east slope of the Upper City mound and the Lower City church. Even before excavation it seemed unlikely to us that this formed the vestiges of an early Roman military camp, as has been suggested by Michael Ballance (42). Rather, we saw it as an important feature of the Byzantine city, and its central position in the overall plan of the site is indeed striking. It was recognised that the area would repay closer investigation both by non-intrusive survey and by limited excavation, and for this reason a trial trench was dug across the south-east perimeter wall of the enclosure during the 1996 excavation season. Although the results are still being processed and analysed, it is clear that this feature is not, as we had previously supposed, the remnants of the main city square erected in Early Byzantine times (43). Rather, the wall, comprising two distinct phases, was erected in the Middle Byzantine period and represents a major alteration to the layout of the Lower City. The enclosure may tentatively be assigned a military role, possibly serving as barracks for the tagmata stationed at Amorium in the 9th-11th centuries. Further investigation of the perimeter wall and the interior of the enclosure is required, but it is clear from the stratigraphy and material finds that this large complex belongs securely to the period after 838 (44).

Likewise, the material culture of Byzantine Amorium is gradually being revealed to us, and we have already gained much knowledge about the pottery, glass and metal objects that were in common use. Many of these artefacts, it would appear, were produced by craftsmen resident at Amorium, indicating that the city was an important

(42) MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [note 9], Vol. I, p. 120.

(43) This area, designated as Trenches XA and XB, was dug principally by two students from the University of Anatolia (Anadolu Üniversitesi), Eskişehir, and I would like to acknowledge the skill and expertise displayed by Mücahide Koçak and Feruzat Ülker in conducting the excavation and recording its very important results.

(44) Equally significant is the fact that this area of the site produced no evidence for later Turkish occupation and that, apart from some modern disturbance caused by stone-robbing, the Middle Byzantine and Dark Age levels are intact and uncontaminated.

commercial and manufacturing centre well into Middle Byzantine times. Equally significant are the numismatic finds, which would seem to indicate that a monetary economy continued to operate at Amorium, even if on a very limited scale, throughout the Dark Ages. The chronological distribution of the coins from Amorium is strikingly different from those recorded at other sites in Anatolia. At Pergamum, for example, a large number of Byzantine coins (some 738 examples in total) have been recovered, dating from the time of Anastasius (491-518) to that of Andronicus II (1282-1328), but not a single example belongs to the period between 715 and 971 ([45]). Likewise, although the excavations at Sardis between 1958 and 1968 produced well over 1,000 Byzantine coins, only 27 examples fall within the same time-span ([46]). This evidence has led scholars to conclude that „Byzantine bronze coins are rare everywhere except in Constantinople ; they are notably absent from other excavated sites, and were probably minted in very small quantities" ([47]). Amorium has produced much fewer coins, a total of only 235 in ten years, ranging in date from the late 2nd century BC to the 18th century. But, in marked contrast to these other sites, 35 examples date to the 7th-9th century ; these coins represent almost 15% of the entire numismatic material from the site. Two of them are silver miliaresia, but the rest are all copper issues, which could have been used for private transactions as easily as for official payments. The numismatic evidence thus goes some way towards shedding light on economic conditions in Anatolia during the Dark Ages, and equally it provides striking proof of the unique nature and the great significance of the Byzantine remains that are preserved at Amorium.

(45) H. Voegtli, *Die Fundmünzen aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon* (Pergamenische Forschungen 8), Berlin/New York 1993, Table 1 on p. 9.

(46) G. E. Bates, *Byzantine Coins* (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 1), Cambridge Mass. 1971, Table III on pp. 6-7.

(47) Foss, *op. cit.* [note 7], p. 60, and compare J.-P. Sodini, *La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin*, in *DOP* 47 (1993), p. 172, fig. 29. Detailed investigation of the Byzantine coin collections in a number of important museums in Turkey would doubtless provide much new information.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. — Coin finds at Amorium (1987-1996)

			(% of identified coins only)
Roman (1st BC - 3rd AD) :	7	3.0%	3.7%
Late Antique (4th-6th) :	35	14.9%	18.6%
Dark Ages (7th-9th) :	35	14.9%	18.6%
Mid-Byzantine (10th-11th) :	99	42.1%	52.7%
Seljuk (13th) :	11	4.7%	5.9%
Ottoman (18th) :	1	0.4%	0.5%
Unidentified :	47	20.0%	–
Total :	235		

TABLE 2. Byzantine coins from Amorium as compared with Pergamum and Sardis (using the same chronological divisions as in Voegtli's Table 1)

	Amorium (excavated & strays)		Pergamum (found in 1974-81)		Sardis (found in 1958-68)	
491-715 :	22	15.8%	73	25.5%	1103	89.4%
715-971 :	23	16.6%	0	—	27	2.2%
971-1081 :	94	67.6%	16	5.6%	58	4.7%
1081-1203 :	0		12	4.2%	46	3.7%
1203-1328 :	0	—	185	64.7%	0	—
Total :	139		286		1234	

University of Durham, England. C. S. LIGHTFOOT.

LE VOYAGE IMAGINAIRE DANS LE ROMAN BYZANTIN DU XIIème SIÈCLE

Voyage imaginaire ou voyage **dans** l'imaginaire ? Il s'agit dans le premier cas d'une plongée en pleine fiction dont il nous faut déterminer avec précision la nature, l'espace dans lequel elle se situe et les modalités de fonctionnement, dans le second d'un déplacement ou, mieux, d'une exploration mentale à la fois en un lieu ouvert, le domaine de l'inspiration individuelle, et obligatoirement circonscrit : le champ clos de la conscience. Ce dernier voyage, dans l'imaginaire, peut évidemment inclure un voyage imaginaire.

Aussi nous intéresserons-nous d'abord à lui, et ensuite seulement au voyage imaginaire. Pour ce faire, nous écartons immédiatement un roman byzantin, celui de Manasses, dont les fragments rassemblés par O. Mazal (1) ne contiennent quasiment rien qui nous permette de l'envisager sous cet angle d'étude (2). En revanche, l'ensemble formé par les trois romans restants (Théodore Prodrome, *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès*, Nicétas Eugenianos, *Drosilla et Chariclès*, Eustathe Makrembolitès, *Hysminè et Hysminias* (3) constitue un corpus homogène et suffisant. Il est indissociable tout particulièrement en ce qui concerne la notion de voyage de quatre sur cinq des romans grecs de l'époque impériale : Chariton d'Aphrodise, *Chairéas et Callirhoé*, Xénophon d'Ephèse, *Les Ephésiaques* ou *Le roman d'Habrocomès et d'Anthia*,

(1) O. MAZAL, *Neue Exzerpte aus dem Roman des Konstantinos Manasses*, dans *J.ö.S.*, 1966, 15, pp. 231-259.

(2) Le titre que donnent les deux manuscrits de Vienne et Munich cités par Mazal aux fragments de Manasses est suffisamment éloquent : *Γνωμικὰ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μανασσῆ* et dévoile un contenu tout de *πάθος*. N'ont été retenus que les discours tenus par le héros sans doute, Aristandre, sur les différents aspects de la vie de l'homme. Disparaissent ainsi aventures (auxquelles il est rapidement fait allusion aux vers 63-80) et voyages des héros.

(3) Nous renvoyons pour une étude d'ensemble de deux de ces romans à notre article *Théodore Prodrome, Rhodanthé et Dosiclès. Roman grec ou roman byzantin ?* dans *Rivista di Bizantinistica*, Mars 1991, T. I, Fasc. I, pp. 195-227. Nous utilisons pour ces trois romans l'édition HERCHER, la meilleure à ce jour, dans la collection *Scriptores erotici graeci*, II, Leipzig, Teubner, 1859.

Héliodore, *Les Ethiopiques* ou *Théagène et Chariclée*, Achille Tatius, *Leucippé et Clitophon* (4). Quoi de commun entre ces textes ? La présentation d'un voyage intérieur, dans la mesure où ces romans «érotiques» sont en même temps des romans d'initiation. Dans cinq d'entre eux (5), un couple de jeunes, voire très jeunes gens (6) passionnément épris mais que leurs parents ont déjà prévu de marier à un(e) autre (7) ne trouvent comme issue pour réaliser leur amour que la fuite loin de leurs parents et de leur patrie (8). Ils sont à un âge transitoire, à mi-chemin entre l'enfant et l'adulte, et la fuite constitue ici symboliquement la rupture du cordon ombilical, la première tentative faite pour s'épanouir librement et construire leur propre personnalité. Si les romans grecs de Chariton et Xénophon présentent une variante par rapport à ces cinq romans (l'opposition initiale des parents au mariage des héros disparaît assez vite et les noces ont lieu dès le début du roman comme chez Xénophon, où les parents ne s'y sont pas opposés (9)), la problématique reste en fait identique. Au début de

(4) A. Billault, *La création romanesque dans la littérature grecque à l'époque impériale*, Paris, 1991, mène une étude complète de ces romans grecs et fait rapidement le point, p. 7, sur leur chronologie sujette à discussion. Nous utilisons pour ces romans l'édition très complète des Belles-Lettres, Paris, respectivement 1979, 1962, 1935 et 1991.

(5) C'est-à-dire les trois romans byzantins et les deux romans grecs d'Héliodore et de Tatius.

(6) — Chariton, I, 1, 3 et I, 1, 1 où Chairéas est présenté comme un *μειράκιον*, Callirhoé comme une *παρθένος*, ce qui reste assez vague.
— Xénophon : Habrocomès a 16 ans (I, 2, 2), Anthia en a 14 (1, 2, 5).
- Héliodore : Théagène est désigné comme un *ἔφηβος* (I, 2, 2) ou un *νεανίσκος* (II, 34, 4 seq.) Chariclée, elle, a 17ans à la fin du roman (X, 4, 4).
Tatius : Clitophon va avoir 19 ans au début du roman (1, 3, 3). Leucippé est seulement qualifiée de *παρθένος* (I, 4, 2) ou de *κόρη* (I, 4, 5).

Les romanciers byzantins en revanche ne précisent pas l'âge de leurs héros : Prodrome désigne Rhodanthé et Dosiclès à la fois en 1, 72, comme des *νέοι* ; Eugenianos se contente de *μειράκιον* (ou plutôt d'une périphrase équivalente) en III, 53-54 pour Chariclès, de *παρθένος* (I, 116) ou *κόρη* (I, 120) pour Drosilla. La maîtresse d'Hysminè chez Makrembolitès s'adresse à la jeune fille et à Hysminias en les nommant respectivement *παιδίσκη* et *τέκνον* (IX, 14, 1 et 11, 2), désignation habituelle pour de jeunes esclaves.

(7) Cf. Hél., IV, 6, 6 ; Tat ., I, 3, 2 ; Prodr., II, 390-91 ; Eug., III, 382 ; Makr., VI, 2, 3-5.

(8) Cf. Hél., V, 1, 1 ; Prodr., II, 451-54 ; Eug., III, 403-08 ; Makr., VII, 6, 1 à 7, 1. Tatius fait exception : la fuite de Leucippé et Clitophon (II, 31, 6) est consécutive à la découverte par la mère de Leucippé de Clitophon, la nuit , dans la chambre de sa fille (II, 23, 5 à 25, 3).

(9) Cf. Char., I, 1, 11-16 ; Xén., I, 7, 2 à 8, 3.

l'œuvre les héros ne sont pas encore assez mûrs pour le mariage, célébré ou non. Ils doivent acquérir conscience et connaissance de soi mais aussi de l'autre pour être capables de vivre comme un couple à la fois légalement reconnu et dont le mariage a sanctionné le passage effectif au statut d'adulte ([10]). Aussi, fuite ou départ accepté par leurs parents ([11]), la disparition provisoire des héros à la vie calme et protégée à l'intérieur de la cellule familiale qu'ils avaient menée jusque là représente une première étape inévitable dans leur approche et leur apprentissage du monde et de l'être humain.

Cet apprentissage est mené sur le mode de la souffrance. Dès leur départ et au cours de leur voyage les deux jeunes gens sont confrontés successivement à toutes sortes d'aventures formant autant d'épreuves de leur initiation à la vie et à l'amour. Elles permettent de vérifier à la fois leur qualité morale et la force de résistance de leur passion, et s'ordonnent logiquement. Les héros affrontent tour à tour la violence déchaînée de la nature au cours de tempêtes souvent suivies d'un naufrage ([12]), et celle des hommes, pirates ou brigands ([13]), qui leur

(10) Le roman de Longus est aussi un roman d'initiation à l'amour et à la connaissance de soi, menée beaucoup plus paisiblement. Les héros restent sur l'île de Lesbos sans jamais aucun désir de s'en enfuir, et c'est là que naît et croît lentement leur amour. Il s'agit tout autant d'un voyage intérieur à la découverte de soi (la circularité de l'île évoque bien cet enfermement en un lieu clos, le champ de la conscience dans laquelle on chemine) en même temps que de l'autre. Mais il n'est pas dédoublé et concrétisé dans la réalité géographique, encore moins dans une géographie imaginaire, par les déplacements au sein d'un vaste espace consécutifs à la fuite des héros dans les autres romans, grecs et byzantins. Nous excluons donc *Daphnis et Chloé* de cette étude sur le voyage imaginaire, puisqu'il ne s'y trouve ni voyage imaginaire, ni voyage réel.

(11) Cf. Char., III, 5, 1-9 : Chairéas part à la recherche de Callirhoé après l'enlèvement de la jeune femme de son tombeau par des brigands. Tout le peuple de Syracuse et en particulier Hermocrate, le père de Callirhoé, approuve ce départ (III, 4, 16-18), d'autant plus que Chairéas était responsable de l'apparente mort de sa femme (I, 4, 12 et 5, 1). Chez Xénophon, les parents d'Habrocomès et d'Anthia, suivant les prédictions d'un oracle (I, 6, 2), envoient leurs enfants tout jeunes mariés en voyage (I, 10 seq.).

(12) Cf. Xén., II, 11, 10 pour Anthia seulement ; Tat., III, 1, 5 ; Prodr., VI, 209-31 pour Rhodanthé seulement ; chez Makrembolitès l'épisode de la tempête (VII, 8, 1 à 14, 2) n'est pas suivi d'un naufrage, évité grâce au sacrifice d'Hysminè aux flots (VII, 12, 2 à 16, 1), mais le résultat est identique pour la jeune fille. Chez Eugenianos lorsque se déchaîne la tempête (VI, 13-14) les héros cheminent le long d'un sentier côtier ; Drosilla choît du haut de son chariot (VI, 8-12) et l'on croit qu'elle est tombée dans la mer. On peut donc considérer qu'il s'agit d'une variante, ou d'un substitut, de naufrage. On trouve même la mention d'une tempête subie par le héros dans les fragments de Manasses (vers 77-80) dans la reconstruction du texte par Mazal.

(13) Les pirates apparaissent chez Char. en I, 7, 1 à 9, 7 ; Xén., I, 13, 1 à 14,

dénient le droit à la liberté et même à l'existence, sans détenir l'exclusivité de ce comportement. Le moindre mal pour les jeunes gens consiste à être emprisonnés ([14]), mais aussi souvent ils se trouvent réduits en esclavage ([15]). Il s'agit là d'une véritable déchéance qui les précipite du haut de la hiérarchie à laquelle ils appartiennent ([16]) au plus bas, les réduit au rôle de simples objets utilitaires le temps d'une mort sociale suivie bien évidemment d'une re-naissance au moment de leur libération ([17]). Mais il existe pire encore que la mort sociale : la mort physique, à laquelle échappent de peu les héros. Elle se manifeste sous la forme d'un sacrifice rituel ([18]) ou, dans les romans grecs seulement, d'une condamnation injustifiée à la peine capitale, avec ou sans tortures ([19]) ; elle peut être encore le résultat du déchaînement meurtrier des brigands ([20]). Dans tous les cas, c'est-à-dire qu'elle soit due à la

3 ; Hél., V, 22, 8 à 25, 3 ; Prodr., I, 1-36 ; Eug., IV, 4 -36 ; Makr., VIII, 1, 1 ; XI, 15, 2-5. Les brigands interviennent plus fréquemment encore : cf. Xén., II, 11, 11 ; III, 11, 1-3 et 12, 2 ; IV, 3, 5 ; Hél., I, 1, 3 et V, 33, 2 ; Tat ., III, 9, 2-3 et V, 7, 1-4 ; Prodr., VI, 106-46 ; Eug., I, 71-74 et IV, 54 seq. ; une allusion dans les fragments de Manasses à des brigands anthropophages aux v. 74-75.

(14) Cf. Xén., IV, 3, 5 pour Anthia seulement ; Hél., en restituant l'ordre chronologique : V, 22, 8 à 25, 3 ; I, 1, 3 et V, 33, 2 ; Prodr., I, 33-38 et VI, 147-49 ; Makr., VIII, 1, 1 pour Hysminias seulement.

(15) Cf. Char., I, 11, 8 seq. pour Callirhoé ; III, 7, 2-3 pour Chairéas ; Xén., II, 2, 2-5 pour Habrocomès et Anthia ; III, 12, 2 pour Habr. ; III, 11, 1-3 pour Anth. ; Hél., V, 8, 6 et VII, 24, 1-4 pour Théagène ; Tat., VIII, 15, 4 à 16, 7 pour Leucippé ; Prodr., VI, 251-53 pour Rhodanthé ; Eug., I, 219-23 pour Drosilla ; Makr., VIII, 9, 2-3 pour Hysminias et XI, 16, 1-2 pour Hysminè. Notons que quatre cas d'asservissement sur dix, ceux de Chairéas chez Char., Théagène chez Hél., Rhodanthé chez Prodr. et Hysminè chez Makr. ne sont pas dûs aux pirates ni aux brigands, mais à des proches des héros .

(16) Cf. Char., I, 1, 1 pour Callirhoé ; Xén., I, 1, 1 pour Habrocomès ; Hél., II, 34, 4 seq. pour Théagène ; Tat., I, 3, 1 pour Leucippé ; Prodr., II, 175 et 236-37 pour Rhodanthé ; Makr., I, 3, 3 seq. et V, 9, 2 seq. pour Hysminè et Hysminias.

(17) Cf. Char., III, 2, 10-17 pour Callirhoé qu'épouse Dionysios ; Xén., II, 10, 1-3 pour Habrocomès ; IV, 3, 5 et V, 4, 3-4 pour Anthia ; Makr., X, 13, 3 à 15, 4 pour Hysminias et Hysminè. Quant à la fin de leur esclavage pour les autres héros, ou d'un second pour les mêmes chez Xén., il ne correspond pas à une délivrance mais à diverses variantes de situations aussi peu enviables que l'esclavage.

(18) Cf. Xén., II, 13, 1-5 pour Anthia ; Hél., X, 7, 2-3 pour Théagène et Chariclée ; Tat., III, 15, 5 pour Leucippé ; Prodr., VIII, 120-132 pour Dosiclès ; Makr., VII, 15, 1-2 pour Hysminè ; et même une allusion dans les fragments de Manasses (v. 74-75) à un sacrifice dont Aristandre aurait failli être la victime.

(19) Cf. Xén., III, 12, 5-6 pour Habrocomès ; IV, 5, 5 à 6, 2 pour Anthia ; Hél., VIII, 9, 10-11 pour Chariclée ; Tat., VII, 7, 1-6 pour Clitophon.

(20) Cf. chez Tat. la — fausse — décapitation de Leucippé par des brigands (V, 7, 4) que poursuivait Clitophon pour leur reprendre la jeune fille ; dans les fragments

force aveugle des éléments provoquant un naufrage ou à celle des humains, son intérêt n'est pas tant de faire prendre conscience au jeune homme ou à la jeune fille qui la subit de son existence même que d'obliger l'autre, lorsqu'il est persuadé que la mort de son (sa) bien-aimé(e) a eu effectivement lieu, à comprendre combien sa vie n'a de sens que dans et par sa passion (le sentiment et son objet, bien sûr, mais aussi toutes les souffrances imposées à travers cet amour). Le lien entre Eros et Thanatos est évident : après la disparition de l'aimé(e) l'anéantissement des héros est tel qu'ils cherchent le plus souvent à le concrétiser en se suicidant immédiatement ([21]).

Plus l'idée de mort est obsédante dans le roman et plus cette mort — sous sa forme sociale et surtout physique — devient symbolique, étape transitoire mais fondamentale de l'initiation des jeunes gens, préfigurant leur renaissance aux autres, à l'être aimé avant tout mais aussi à eux-mêmes, à la fois semblables à ce qu'ils étaient avant leur départ et différents. Le retour à la vie du héros ou de l'héroïne disparu(e), cru(e) mort(e), coïncide avec les retrouvailles de son (sa) bien-aimé(e) ([22]) puis de ses parents ([23]), et ces scènes préludent au mariage bien mérité par la souffrance, reconnaissance sociale et sanction de l'expérience du monde et de la sagesse acquises par les héros tout au long de leurs aventures ([24]).

de Manasses, Aristandre fait allusion (v. 68-69) à l'assassinat de Callithée, sans doute par un brigand. Variante encore dans la mesure où il ne s'agit plus de brigands que la pseudo-mort de Callirhoé consécutive au coup de pied dans le ventre administré par Chairéas (I, 4, 12).

(21) Cf. Char., I, 5, 2 pour Chairéas ; Xén., III, 6, 1-5 pour Anthia ; Hél., II, 5, 1 pour Théagène ; Tat., III, 16, 2 ; V, 7, 5 et VII, 7, 4-6 pour Clitophon ; Prodr., VI, 415-19 pour Dosiclès ; Eug., VI, 285 pour Drosilla ; sur un mode humoristique, Makr., VII, 16, 2 et 17, 12 pour Hysminias. C'est Anthia, l'héroïne des *Ephésiaques*, qui résume le mieux le lien entre Eros et Thanatos. Sa tentative de suicide ayant échoué (elle a absorbé un somnifère au lieu d'un poison), elle supplie les brigands qui viennent piller son tombeau et veulent l'enlever, voyant qu'elle n'est pas morte, de la laisser périr en leur disant : *Δυοῖν ἀνάκειμαι θεοῖς, Ἔρωτι καὶ Θανάτῳ* (III, 8, 5).

(22) Cf. Char., V, 8, 1 et VIII, 1, 8 ; Xén., V, 13, 2-3 ; Hél., II, 6, 3 et VII, 7, 7 ; Tat., III, 17, 7 ; V, 17, 7 à 19, 5 ; VII,16, 3-4 ; Prodr., VIII, 361 seq. ; Eug., VII, 39 seq. ; Makr., IX, 14, 1.

(23) Cf. Char., VIII, 6, 5-10 ; il n'y a pas de retrouvailles chez Xén. des héros avec leurs parents, morts de vieillesse et de désespoir pendant leur absence (V, 15, 3) ; Hél., X, 16, 1-2 et 38, 1 ; Tat., VII, 16, 3-4 et VIII, 19, 2-3 ; Prodr., IX, 270 seq. et 455 seq. ; Eug., IX, 150 seq. et 270 seq. ; Makr., X, 13, 3-5.

(24) Aventures résumées dans le roman de Prodr. par Dosiclès qui en dégage devant son père la leçon de l'expérience (IX, 280-84 et 287).

Ils ont progressé sur le chemin du savoir. **A ce cheminement intérieur** dans l'espace fermé de la conscience, **à ce voyage en soi qui constitue une démarche de type initiatique** imposée aux héros par les événements (ou, plus exactement, par la *Τύχη* ([25])) **correspond** en tant que dédoublement dans ces cinq romans grecs et byzantins **un voyage circulaire dans la réalité géographique** défini par un retour au point de départ, mais dans des conditions différentes pour les fuyards. Leur retour chez eux est un véritable triomphe ([26]). On mesure ainsi concrètement l'intérêt du chemin parcouru, le profit qu'en tirent les héros. Leur circuit les ramène toujours dans la ville d'origine de l'héroïne — si sa patrie n'est pas la même que celle du héros — où ils peuvent ainsi célébrer conventionnellement leur mariage. Dans les romans de Chariton, Xénophon, Prodrome et Eugenianos le jeune homme et la jeune fille vivent tous deux respectivement à Syracuse, Ephèse, Abydos et Phtie ([27]), en partent et y reviennent à la fin de leurs aventures. En revanche Héliodore, Tatius et Makrembolitès font naître Chariclée à Méroé en Ethiopie (IV, 8, 1-4 et X, 1, 3 à 15, 2), Leucippé à Byzance (I, 3, 5 seq.), Hysminè à Aulikomis (I, 2, 3 à 8, 1), points d'arrivée du couple des héros au dénouement alors que Théagène, Clitophon et Hysminias étaient partis, eux, au tout début de leur périple, d'Hypatè (*Ethiopiques*, II, 34, 1-4), Tyr (*Leucippé et Clitophon*, I, 3, 1) et Eurykomis (*Hysminè et Hysminias*, (I, 1, 1 à 2, 1). La boucle qui se referme et clôt le récit en même temps que le circuit est plus ou moins large en fonction du roman envisagé, nous y reviendrons un peu plus loin. L'intérêt est qu'il s'agit dans tous les cas d'un circuit, qui présente de surcroît la particularité dans quatre romans sur sept de faire se superposer au trajet aller de l'héroïne seule ou du couple de jeunes gens une partie du trajet retour. Ainsi l'héroïne de Xénophon, Anthia, partie d'Ephèse, se trouve au milieu du roman (III, 1, 1) à Alexandrie, d'où elle fait route en direction de l'Inde (IV, 3, 1) et passe

(25) Cf. Char., I, 14, 7-9 ; II, 8, 3-4 et 6 ; IV, 1, 12 ; V, 1, 4 ; V, 5, 2 ; VIII, 1, 2 ; Xén., I, 16, 3 ; Hél., V, 2, 7-8 ; V, 4, 1 et 6 , 1-3 ; VI, 7, 3-4 et 8, 3-5 ; VII, 12, 2 et 21, 3 ; Tat., V, 2, 3 et 7, 9 ; V, 10, 4 ; V, 11, 1-2 et 17, 3 ; VI, 3, 1 ; VII, 5, 2. Cf. Prodr., I, 88 seq. ; VI, 311 ; VIII, 371-72 et 493-500 ; IX, 126-79 ; Eug., I, 299-320 ; V, 270-78 ; VI, 37 seq. ; VIII, 169 seq. et 312 ; IX, 42 ; Makr., VII, 9, 6 et 17, 4 ; VIII, 11, 2 ; VIII, 16, 1 et 19, 4 ; VIII, 21, 3 ; et même Manasses, vers 262-69 ; 357-76 ; 412-28 ; 463-66 ; 694.

(26) Pour les héros byzantins exclusivement : cf. Prodr., IX, 455 seq. ; Eug., IX, 270 seq. ; Makr., XI, 18, 2.

(27) Cf. Char., I, 1, 1-3 ; Xén., I, 10, 3 ; Prodr., II, 482 ; Eug., III, 52 seq.

par Memphis et Coptos pour arriver en Ethiopie (IV, 3, 2-5) où elle s'arrête. Puis elle emprunte en sens inverse le même chemin : Coptos, Memphis, Alexandrie (V, 4, 3-8) avant qu'on l'expédie à Tarente (V, 5, 7) d'où elle repart pour Ephèse (V, 15, 1) en faisant escale à Rhodes (V, 11, 2) comme à l'aller (I, 12, 1). Chariclée chez Héliodore, emmenée toute jeune d'Ethiopie en Egypte (II, 30-31), n'aura de cesse de retrouver ses parents et sera ainsi conduite à emprunter un itinéraire identique qui, de l'embouchure du Nil (I, 1, 1) à Méroé en Ethiopie (X, 5-6), la ramènera chez eux après son passage à Delphes (II, 33, 2-3), Zacynthe (V, 18, 1-3) et en Crète (V, 22, 7). De même, dans le roman d'Eugenianos, Drosilla et Chariclès échoués à Barzos en venant de Phtie (IV, 51 seq.) repassent par Barzos (IX, 148 seq.) pour rejoindre leur ville de départ.

Makrembolitès offre, lui, une variante de ce schéma, dans la mesure où à l'aller mais surtout au retour les héros accomplissent une série de va-et-vient entre deux séries de deux villes (Eurykomis et Aulikomis, Artykomis et Daphnipolis). Se complique ici un trajet qui par ailleurs ne comporte qu'un seul passage, à l'aller d'une part, au retour d'autre part, par ville ou par pays. Hysminias d'Eurykomis arrive à Aulikomis (I, 2, 3 et 3, 1), y revient en compagnie d'Hysminè (V, 7, 2 à 9, 2). Tous deux s'en enfuient et s'embarquent pour la Syrie (VI, 16, 2 et VII, 7, 1) sans qu'on sache ensuite s'ils y ont effectivement abordé. En tout cas après le sacrifice d'Hysminè à Poséidon ils échouent, séparément, dans la même ville : Artykomis (VIII, 6, 1 et XI, 16, 1 : récit d'Hysminè postérieur aux événements) puis Hysminias part à Daphnipolis (VIII, 9, 3), revient à Artykomis (IX, 1, 1) où il retrouve Hysminè. Tous deux s'en retournent à Daphnipolis (X, 5, 1 à 7, 1), puis à Artykomis (XI, 7, 2) et rentrent enfin à Aulikomis, patrie d'Hysminè (XI, 18, 2). Le dédoublement, presque un triplement, du déplacement Artykomis-Daphnipolis semble souligner plus encore que dans les autres romans les difficultés éprouvées par les héros à revenir chez eux.

On le voit, dans l'ensemble de ces quatre romans, la superposition partielle de l'aller et du retour concerne au moins les deux premiers pays ou villes traversés. Elle a le mérite de renforcer la valeur symbolique du voyage : si les héros empruntent au retour un chemin quelque peu identique à l'aller, eux ne sont plus les mêmes ni les conditions dans lesquelles ils font route. Leur transformation est d'autant plus sensible que les lieux (tout particulièrement leur ville d'origine, celle

qu'ils connaissaient le mieux) sont restés semblables à ce qu'ils étaient avant leur départ et pendant le trajet aller. A mesure qu'ils ont parcouru l'espace le parcours intérieur qu'ils ont dû accomplir en a modifié leur perception, leur regard sur le monde a changé en même temps que la souffrance, vecteur de maturité, s'emparait d'eux. Ces héros-là, qui repassent par des chemins connus, ont plus que les autres qui accomplissent à l'aller et au retour un trajet différent, la chance de prendre conscience de leur propre évolution.

Il n'en demeure pas moins que pour tous voyage dans l'imaginaire, ou plutôt exploration du champ clos de la conscience, et voyage circulaire dans l'espace géographique se superposent. On peut se demander si le contenu du circuit, le détail d'une errance qui apparente les héros à autant d'Ulysse ([28]) s'avère partout ne serait-ce qu'approximativement le même, si les héros parcourent et s'approprient un espace identique.

* Les circuits présentés ci-dessus font déjà apparaître une caractéristique des romans byzantins par rapport aux grecs : le nombre d'étapes du voyage des héros s'y trouve beaucoup moins élevé. Rien d'étonnant à cela : les aventures que vivent les héros byzantins sont bien moins nombreuses que celles des héros grecs, au profit du développement du *pathos* ([29]), et la corrélation est claire entre moindres aventures et moindres déplacements. **Les héros grecs se montrent de plus grands voyageurs que les Byzantins** chez qui le nombre maximum de pays ou de villes-étapes s'élève à cinq alors que dans le roman de Xénophon (où parmi les romans grecs le nombre d'aventures atteint son paroxysme) il va jusqu'à treize pour Habrocomès en demeurant important chez Héliodore et Tatius, moindre cependant chez Chariton. Ainsi, de même que l'on peut plus facilement que d'un roman grec saisir d'un coup d'œil l'ensemble d'un roman byzantin grâce au nombre réduit des aventures qui en simplifie la trame, on peut appréhender aisément tout le trajet d'un couple de héros byzantins ([30]).

(28) L'errance, l'impossibilité du retour tant désiré dans sa patrie constitue une épreuve aussi douloureuse que les autres. Elle figure en bonne place dans la récapitulation de tous ses maux par Dosiclès (nous avons déjà renvoyé en note 24 à ces six vers).

(29) Cette dernière caractéristique apparaît bien comme spécifique du roman byzantin si l'on considère en particulier la nature des fragments conservés du roman de Manasses : les seuls passage de *πάθος*, présentés par le copiste, nous le disions plus haut en note 2, comme *Γνωμικά*.

(30) Nous donnerons un peu plus loin, en présentant le détail du trajet dans la réalité géographique et imaginaire, toutes les références à l'intérieur des romans grecs et byzantins de chacune des étapes des voyages ci-dessous désignés.

Notons que les pères de Rhodanthé et Dosiclès, qui partent tout comme ceux de Drosilla et Chariclès et les pères et mères d'Hysminias et Hysminè à la recherche de leurs enfants ne se limitent pas à reproduire en tout ou en partie, à la différence des autres parents, le circuit accompli par leurs enfants. Leur itinéraire est beaucoup plus long. Le narrateur reste dans le vague quant à leurs premières étapes ([31]), suggérant qu'elles équivalent à un tour du monde, puis les présente faisant un crochet par Delphes (IX, 191 seq.) avant de passer à Chypre pour y retrouver leurs enfants (IX, 226 seq.). Par le chemin parcouru quoiqu'imprécisément désigné puisque seules deux étapes sont nommées, on peut comparer leur trajet et lui seul dans les romans byzantins à celui des héros grecs et de leurs familiers. Mais autant, et grâce justement à son imprécision, la reconstitution de ce voyage est simple, autant la même opération s'avère à cause du nombre d'étapes franchies plus complexe pour les personnages des romans de Chariton, Xénophon, Héliodore et Tatius. L'exemple le plus frappant se trouve donc chez Xénophon. Non seulement Habrocomès et Anthia s'y déplacent beaucoup, mais davantage encore Hippothoos, véritable aventurier qui devient l'ami d'Habrocomès (II, 14, 2-4) ; moindres en revanche sont les déplacements de Leucon et Rhodè, le couple de serviteurs fidèles. Le périple d'Hippothoos est le plus impressionnant des romans grecs. Celui de Leucon et Rhodè s'avère, par comparaison, bien modeste. Il est pourtant un peu supérieur, par le nombre d'étapes franchies et nommément désignées, à celui des Byzantins. Dans le roman d'Héliodore nous retiendrons comme significatif, outre celui de Théagène et Chariclée, l'itinéraire de Calasiris, le père adoptif de la jeune fille, qui se superpose en partie à celui des jeunes gens. Comparé à celui des pères des héros chez Prodrome, il est beaucoup plus complexe. A fortiori celui de Théagène et Chariclée, plus long, l'est davantage encore, comme celui de Leucippé et de Clitophon chez Tatius. L'héroïne de Chariton fait exception parmi les héros grecs dans la mesure où son propre trajet s'effectue en peu d'étapes : Milet-Babylone-Arados-Paphos, mais celui de Chairéas en présente davantage.

* Parce que le nombre des déplacements de Callirhoé se trouve moins élevé que dans les autres romans grecs, on pourrait comparer son voyage à ceux des héros byzantins. Mais c'est justement à partir de

(31) Cf. *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès*, IX, 188-90.

cette similitude qu'apparaît bien la profonde dissemblance entre eux : à peu d'étapes **pour Callirhoé** correspond en fait, exactement **comme pour les autres héros grecs, un vaste déploiement dans l'espace**, alors que ce petit nombre d'étapes est en relation, **chez les Byzantins**, avec le **resserrement de l'espace** qui devient extrêmement limité. Les déplacements moins nombreux des héros byzantins — ou de leurs parents — sont aussi moins lointains, à une exception près, nous l'avons vu plus haut, le voyage des pères du roman de Prodrome. Nous y reviendrons un peu plus loin.

Quel trajet suivent précisément les Grecs ? Ils parcourent tout le bassin méditerranéen, étant entendu que c'est la superposition du trajet du couple de héros et de leurs proches dans les romans de Chariton, Héliodore et Tatius qui nous permet de parvenir à cette conclusion. Chaque grand voyageur de ces romans ne boucle pas à lui seul un itinéraire qui correspondrait à chaque fois au pourtour du bassin méditerranéen. Callirhoé et Chairéas à sa suite se déplacent d'Ouest (Sicile, I, 1, 1-3) en Est (Babylone, V, 2, 2 seq. ; V, 3, 7 seq.) en effleurant les côtes de Grèce pour Callirrhoé (I, 11, 4) et en passant pour tous deux par l'Asie Mineure (I, 11, 8 ; III, 6, 1) puis par la Carie pour Chairéas (IV, 2, 1) à l'aller, au retour par la Syrie (VII, 2, 2) et la Phénicie (VII, 4, 3) pour Chairéas toujours, ensuite à proximité de la côte phénicienne pour tous deux (VII, 5, 1 et 6, 2 seq.) et à Chypre (VII, 2, 7). Il s'agit du plus orientalisé des voyages des romans grecs, où l'on évite à l'intérieur du bassin méditerranéen au Nord, la Grèce, au Sud, l'Egypte. A l'opposé chez Héliodore et Tatius Théagène et Chariclée d'une part, Leucippé et Clitophon d'autre part se déplacent du Nord au Sud, de Grèce en Ethiopie précisément pour les héros d'Héliodore. Si l'on considère comme point de départ des deux jeunes gens le lieu de leur rencontre, Delphes (III, 4, 1) en se rappelant que Chariclée est née en Ethiopie et que tout le roman ne consiste en rien d'autre qu'un long retour de la jeune fille à son point d'origine, on les voit passer successivement à Zacynthe (V, 18, 1 seq.), en Crète (V, 22, 7), puis traverser l'Egypte (livres I, 1 à X, 1, 2) jusqu'à Méroé, en Ethiopie (X, 6, 1 seq.). Ils empruntent donc un itinéraire tout à fait inconnu de Chairéas et Callirhoé dans le roman de Chariton, mais qui englobe un espace tout aussi vaste. Certains des autres personnages (Chariclès, Cnémon, Calasiris) font à l'intérieur des *Ethiopiques* un parcours similaire, dans le même sens qu'eux, Nord-Ouest - Sud-Est, nous avons déjà eu l'occasion d'en parler à propos de Calasiris.

Chariclès, le second père adoptif de Chariclée (II, 30, 6 à 32, 1), part aussi de Delphes (X, 36, 3 seq.) via Hypatè (X, 36, 4), lieu de naissance de Théagène, pour arriver à Méroé (X, 36, 1, sic). Cnémon, l'ami-compagnon de captivité (I, 8, 5 seq.), parti d'Athènes (I, 9, 1) en passant par Egine (I, 14, 2), s'installe à Chemmis, en Egypte (VI, 8, 2).

Leucippé dans le roman de Tatius boucle un circuit qui l'amène à l'aller de Byzance (I, 3, 5 seq.) à Alexandrie (V, 1, 1) par la Phénicie : Tyr, où elle rencontre Clitophon (I, 4, 2), Sidon puis Beyrouth (II, 3, 5). Son itinéraire de retour Alexandrie-Byzance est différent, plus direct du Sud au Nord, avec une seule escale, à Ephèse (V, 17-18). Jamais les héros (Leucippé et Clitophon qui, à partir de Tyr, l'accompagne ou la poursuit) ni leurs compagnons ne s'approchent de la Grèce. Aussi leur trajet, bien que long, embrasse-t-il un espace plus limité que celui des personnages de Chariton ou d'Héliodore : l'Est seulement du bassin méditerranéen, sans s'enfoncer dans les terres du Proche-Orient (par opposition à Chariton) ni dans celles d'Egypte (par opposition à Héliodore).

Le roman de Xénophon est le seul des romans à présenter des protagonistes qui parcourent l'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen. Tout se trouve démultiplié dans *Les Ephésiaques* : les aventures, les personnages, le nombre des déplacements et aussi la longueur de ces déplacements, qu'on examine le trajet suivi par Anthia, Habrocomès ou Hippothoos (mais beaucoup plus limité pour Leucon et Rhodè). Partis d'Asie Mineure (Ephèse, I, 10, 3) Habrocomès et Anthia font d'abord escale en deux îles grecques : Samos et Rhodes (I, 11, 2 et 12, 1 seq.), arrivent en Phénicie (Tyr, I, 14, 6) et suivent alors un itinéraire différent. Syrie (Antioche, II, 9, 1) puis Sud de l'Asie Mineure pour Anthia (Cilicie, II, 13, 5) ; de là Egypte (Alexandrie, Memphis, Coptos, III, 9, 1 ; IV, 3, 3 et 3, 5) et Ethiopie (IV, 3, 5) ; le retour se fait par l'extrême Sud de l'Italie (Tarente, V, 5, 7). Habrocomès, lui, est repassé directement de la côte phénicienne en Asie Mineure (Cilicie et Cappadoce, II, 14, 1-2 ; III, 1-3) puis parti en Egypte (Péluse, Alexandrie, III, 12, 2 et 12, 6) ; il revient par la Sicile (Syracuse, V, 1, 1), le Sud de l'Italie — mais le Sud-Ouest (Nuceria, V, 8, 1) — et Chypre (V, 10, 3). Hippothoos fait mieux, il accomplit un périple plus large encore. De Thrace (Périnthe et Byzance, III, 2, 1 et 2, 10) en passant par Lesbos (III, 2, 12-13) il traverse d'Ouest en Est l'Asie Mineure (Grande Phrygie, Pamphylie, Cilicie, Cappadoce, III, 2, 14 et 1, 3, sic), descend en Syrie (Laodicée, IV, 1, 1), en Phénicie (IV,

1, 2) puis en Egypte (Memphis, Coptos, IV, 1, 3-4), pousse au Sud jusqu'en Ethiopie (IV, 1, 5), part ensuite en Sicile (Tauroménion, V, 9, 1), de là en Italie (Tarente, V, 9, 5) pour rentrer en même temps qu'Habrocomès et Anthia à Ephèse (V, 15, 1) avec une dernière escale à Rhodes (V, 11, 2). Il a fait comme les héros un tour du bassin méditerranéen, mais plus long puisque son point de départ se situe bien plus au Nord. Quant à Leucon et Rhodè, ils se sont limités au Nord-Est du bassin méditerranéen puisqu'ils n'ont pas quitté l'Asie Mineure en suivant d'abord Anthia d'Ephèse à Tyr puis Antioche, en se séparant d'elle pour entrer en Lycie «à l'intérieur des terres» (Xanthos, II, 10, 4) et retourner à Ephèse via Rhodes (V, 10, 6) avec Habrocomès, Anthia et Hippothoos. Tant pour le grand voyage d'Habrocomès, d'Anthia et d'Hippothoos que, bien sûr, pour ce bref circuit des serviteurs, on constate que la Grèce a été évitée alors qu'elle aurait pu parachever un tour du bassin méditerranéen qui a amené Hippothoos, Habrocomès et Anthia successivement en Asie Mineure, sur la côte proche-orientale, en Egypte, en Sicile, en Italie. Aucun trajet ne mène-t-il donc dans ce roman en Grèce ? En fait, elle n'est pas totalement absente : Aigialée, le vieux pêcheur chez qui va loger Habrocomès (V, 1, 2) à son arrivée à Syracuse, lui raconte son histoire (V, 1, 4-8). Originaire de Sparte, il a fui avec sa bien-aimée à Syracuse en passant par Argos et Corinthe. L'itinéraire de ce vieillard, qui relie la Grèce à la Sicile au moment où s'y trouve Habrocomès avant de repartir en Italie, complète ainsi celui d'Hippothoos et des héros en intégrant de manière indirecte, par le biais d'un récit, la Grèce au voyage d'Habrocomès.

On le voit, le périple minimum des héros de ces quatre romans grecs représente tout de même le franchissement du bassin méditerranéen du Nord au Sud et le déplacement dans sa moitié Est (Leucippé et Clitophon chez Tatius). Et le trajet des Byzantins, par comparaison ? Notons d'abord qu'il est extrêmement difficile à cerner : l'imprécision, voire la fiction, de la localisation pose problème. Nous ne pouvons qu'essayer de suivre les héros dans leur voyage, en commençant par ceux de Prodrome et d'Eugenianos. Rhodanthé et Dosiclès partent de la côte Ouest d'Asie Mineure (Abydos, II, vers 482) pour descendre en la longeant jusqu'à Rhodes (II, 3 seq.). De là ils sont emmenés dans une ville sans nom, la «patrie des Barbares» (I, 75) à propos de laquelle Prodrome ne donne absolument aucune indication qui permettrait de la localiser. L'étape suivante, réservée exclusivement à

Dosiclès, porte, elle, un nom, mais fictif : Pissa (VI, 499) ([32]). La ville n'a été atteinte que le onzième jour (VI, 499) d'une traversée difficile (VI, 209-233) mais Rhodanthé de son côté, malgré son naufrage, n'a mis en tout que cinq jours au départ de la même «patrie des Barbares» pour arriver à Chypre (VI, 209-246). Le trajet Pissa-Chypre qu'accomplissent en VIII, 143-147 Dosiclès, Cratandre et Craton, son père, se fait «en peu de temps» (VIII, 146), qu'on oppose aux dix ou onze jours de la traversée «patrie des pirates»-Pissa. Qu'en conclure ? On peut, bien sûr, émettre des hypothèses pour tenter de situer à partir du temps de navigation requis Pissa par rapport à Chypre. Mais comme l'étape qui la précède, la «patrie des Barbares», n'est aucunement située dans l'espace ni dans le temps (de navigation) par rapport à Rhodes ([33]), il n'existe aucun repère solide, et ces hypothèses resteraient bien aventureuses ([34]). En outre, ne fausserait-on pas le sens du choix opéré par un auteur qui, mentionnant par ailleurs des noms bien réels (Abydos, Rhodes, Chypre) a certainement **voulu** rester en partie dans l'imprécision («patrie des Barbares») ou la fiction (Pissa mais aussi Rhamnos, la ville qui fait l'objet de la rivalité entre les deux chefs barbares Bryax et Mistylos (IV, 53-68) et sera l'enjeu de leur guerre en VI, 25-146) ?

On peut s'interroger sur les raisons de ce choix. L'histoire propre de Byzance n'y interviendrait-elle pas ? Oui, si l'on observe que les villes et îles clairement désignées et bien enracinées dans la réalité géographique (Abydos, Rhodes, Chypre à l'Est du bassin méditerranéen, auxquelles s'ajoute la Grèce à travers la mention de Delphes où les pères de Rhodanthé et de Dosiclès passent chercher un oracle avant de se rendre à Chypre en IX, 184-224) appartiennent à l'empire byzantin du XIIème siècle ([35]), et que cet empire n'a alors dans ses frontières plus rien à voir avec celui dont ont hérité les Grecs à la mort d'Alexandre et auquel renvoie la géographie précise des romans grecs ([36]) en ce qui

(32) Rappelons qu'HUNGER (*Die Hochsprachlische profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Münich, 1978, T. II, p. 132) considère qu'il faut lire à travers le nom de Pissa Pise, ce qui ne signifie nullement que les héros vont jusqu'à Pise. Il s'agit, dit Hunger, d'une allusion («Anspielung») à cette république italienne.

(33) On suppose qu'il est d'une nuit d'après les vers 86 et 435 du livre I.

(34) Dans notre article sur Prodrome cité en note 3, pp. 210-11, et en relation avec les hypothèses de Hunger, op. cit., p. 132, nous présentons une localisation possible des villes de Pissa et des «Barbares». Mais il ne s'agit là, soulignons-le bien, que d'une **interprétation** que le texte lui-même ne conforte en rien.

(35) Cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Histoire de l'Etat byzantin*, Paris, 1983, pp. 408-09.

(36) Cf. A. BILLAULT, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

concerne la partie orientale du voyage des différents personnages. Ces derniers sillonnent en fait, nous l'avons vu plus haut, l'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen. En regard, le territoire connu et reconnu par Prodrome, facile à identifier pour le lecteur parce qu'il est nommé, paraît bien limité : Grèce, Asie Mineure, Rhodes et Chypre. Ce **repli dans l'espace** reflète sans doute la prise de conscience de l'auteur d'un réel rétrécissement de l'Empire. Que signifie dans ces conditions son refus de donner corps aux autres lieux en les nommant ou de délivrer leur véritable nom sinon qu'ils ne font plus partie de l'Empire byzantin et pour cette raison ne l'intéressent pas ? Tout ce qui se trouve en-dehors des frontières n'existe plus — nié, ici, par l'écriture. Il est aisé d'interpréter aussi dans ce sens la présentation du voyage des pères, Lysippos et Straton, voyage lointain, certes, par opposition à celui des héros byzantins, nous l'avons dit plus haut, mais dont tout de même seule la deuxième partie (Delphes-Chypre, retour à Abydos avec leurs enfants) est nommée, la première étant résumée, rappelons-le, de manière extrêmement vague (37). Sans doute parce qu'elle se déroule au-delà des frontières de l'Empire, il devient inutile de la concrétiser en la désignant dans le détail de ses étapes.

On peut dégager sensiblement les mêmes conclusions de la même attitude adoptée par Eugenianos : **une certaine désinvolture à l'encontre de la géographie**. Les caractéristiques des noms de lieux y sont identiques à celles du roman de Prodrome. Il s'agit de lieux bien réels et désignés comme tels, permettant une localisation précise (soit une région, la Carie, mentionnée une seule fois par Dosiclès en VI, 109, soit un nom de ville ou d'île, Phthie et Lesbos, où sont nés respectivement le couple Drosilla-Chariclès (III, 52 seq.) et Cléandre, l'ami (II, 57)), l'empêchant au contraire parce qu'ils restent cantonnés dans le vague. Ils ont alors la même fonction que la «patrie des Barbares» de Prodrome. Ainsi de la mention du fleuve Saros en V, 377, auprès duquel se trouve la ville des «Parthes» qui y ont emmené Drosilla et Chariclès après les avoir faits prisonniers à Barzos (IV, 56-60). Est-ce bien du fleuve de Cilicie qu'il est question ? De même pour l'Arabie désignée en VI, 175. Son seul nom ne nous indique pas où l'auteur la situe par rapport au Saros, et Eugenianos ne prend pas la peine, comme le fait quelquefois Prodrome, de préciser la durée des déplacements des héros. Nous savons seulement que pour aller de la ville

(37) Cf. note 31.

des «Parthes» en Arabie les héros à pied ou sur un chariot longent la côte (VI, 1-17). Côte Sud-Est de l'Asie Mineure ou déjà côte syrienne, si le Saros désigne bien un fleuve de Cilicie ? La même incertitude se dégage de l'emploi du nom fictif : Barzos, sur le même plan que Pissa dans *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès*. Aucun repère de temps ni de lieu ne relie cette ville, où Drosilla et Chariclès ont échoué (IV, 55-57 ; I, 6) à Phthie d'où ils se sont enfuis (III, 52 seq. et 404-408). Elle reste ainsi impossible à localiser, en-dehors de la réalité géographique. On en conclut, comme pour Pissa et la « patrie des Barbares » dans le roman de Prodrome, que Barzos, Saros et Arabie ne se trouvent plus en territoire byzantin et suscitent peu l'intérêt d'Eugenianos.

On remarquera tout de même que si la localisation spatiale est quasiment inexistante, cet auteur, à la différence de Prodrome, l'a discrètement remplacée par une localisation, disons, plus humaine. Aux noms de lieux — villes ou pays — se substituent ici des dénominations ethniques. Les deux groupes qui s'opposent dans *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès* sous le nom de Barbares pour le premier (I, 10), le second se trouvant simplement incarné par le chef et son subalterne (IV, 9), sont individualisés dans *Drosilla et Chariclès* : d'un côté les Parthes, de l'autre les Arabes (un bel exemple en V, 373-74). Cette particularité n'empêche pas que dans l'ensemble du roman la vision de l'espace — donc la perception des frontières de l'Empire qu'a, au XIIème siècle, Eugenianos ? — ne paraisse encore plus rétrécie que chez Prodrome. Parce qu'il y est beaucoup plus difficile — voire impossible — de reconstituer un quelconque itinéraire même parcellaire, trois lieux sur cinq (Barzos, ville des «Parthes», Arabie) restant sans implantation géographique, le territoire cerné, c'est-à-dire dénommé exactement, se limite à la Grèce : Phtie, et à l'île de Lesbos ([38]). **La Grèce serait-elle ici, dans un roman, le dernier refuge de la conscience grecque**, le seul territoire perçu comme proprement byzantin à un moment où justement la reconstruction des frontières par Manuel Ier a permis de retrouver un empire proprement grec mais s'avère fragile ([39]) ?

(38) Proche tout de même de la côte Ouest d'Asie Mineure où Prodrome, lui, fait naître Rhodanthé et Dosiclès : le point de départ de leur voyage est Abydos. Ce ne sont pas les héros mais Cléandre, l'ami-compagnon de captivité rencontré sur le bateau (I, 260 seq.), qui est originaire de Lesbos (II, 57). L'importance de Phthie étant prédominante (Drosilla et Chariclès y sont nés), la Grèce plutôt que la côte Ouest d'Asie Mineure comme chez Prodrome est ici mise en valeur.

(39) Reste, dans cette hypothèse, le problème de la Cilicie que Manuel Ier soumet en 1158. Pourquoi alors Eugenianos ne l'aurait-il pas nommée ici ? Mais : 1) rien

* Si dans ces deux romans de Prodrome et d'Eugenianos la géographie entièrement réaliste des textes grecs bascule en partie dans l'imaginaire, témoignant d'un refus d'inscrire globalement dans l'espace de la réalité le circuit des héros, que dire alors du **roman de Makrembolitès ? La géographie y est totalement imaginaire** et nous ne pouvons même plus tenter d'attribuer, comme nous l'avons fait dans le cas de *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès, Drosilla et Chariclès*, au refus d'enraciner les héros dans la réalité une explication de type historique, puisqu'il n'y a plus aucun contact avec cette réalité. Les quatre villes : Eurykomis (I, 1, 1), Aulikomis (I, 3, 1), Artykomis (VIII, 6, 1), Daphnipolis (VIII, 9, 3) portent un nom fictif (40), et les deux seuls signes d'intrusion du réel géographique : la mention de la Syrie comme destination des héros dans leur fuite (VI, 16, 2) et l'irruption des Ethiopiens (VIII, 1, 1) (41) ne présentent guère de signification. Lorsqu'Hysminias et Hysminè échouent chacun de leur côté sur un rivage (VII, 16, 2 et XI, 14, 1), on ignore s'il s'agit bel et bien de la côte syrienne ; les pirates éthiopiens qui assaillent Hysminias n'indiquent pas non plus qu'il se trouve sur la côte éthiopienne. Leurs incursions peuvent les mener jusqu'en Egypte (42), voire plus loin. Il est loisible, à travers la clarté de la composition (Eury-komis, Auli-komis, Arty-komis, Daphni-polis), surtout pour le dernier toponyme, quasiment transparent (Daphnè, faubourg d'Antioche ?) de chercher à identifier ces lieux au nom forgé par l'auteur (43). Mais quel intérêt ? Ce qui nous paraît important, ce n'est pas d'essayer de deviner quels lieux le romancier a désignés en ne les nommant justement pas, mais de reconnaître l'existence d'un refus de toute implantation géographique, et d'accepter ce désir de masquer la réalité jusqu'à la gommer, d'accepter l'idée même illustrée dans ce roman seulement d'un pur voyage imaginaire.

ne prouve que le fleuve Saros mentionné en VI, 175, soit bien le Saros de Cilicie (Seichoung Tchai). Un fleuve de même nom coule en Cappadoce (cf. Tite-Live, XXXIII, 41, 7) ; 2) rien ne prouve non plus que *Drosilla et Chariclès* ait été écrit **après** 1158.

(40) et jamais n'est indiqué le temps de déplacement de l'une de ces villes à l'autre.

(41) Nous ne considérons pas comme significative la mention initiale d'Athènes (I, 1, 1) utilisée ici seulement comme point de comparaison avec Eurykomis. Athènes ne participe donc pas de la dynamique du roman et ne se trouve pas sur le même plan que la Syrie ou bien les Ethiopiens.

(42) Cf. les pirates éthiopiens ou bien égyptiens du roman de Tat. qui assaillent Leucippé et Clitophon lorsqu'ils se déplacent, sur le Nil, de Péluse à Alexandrie (III, 9, 1-2).

(43) Cf. notre introduction à la traduction du roman de Makr. sous le titre *Les amours homonymes*, Belles-Lettres, 1991, pp. 14-15.

D'autant plus imaginaire que Makrembolitès ne s'est pas limité à effacer les repères géographiques. Le voyage d'Hysminias et Hysminè se situe en-dehors de l'espace connu, en des lieux qui n'existent que grâce au romancier (il les crée en les nommant), mais aussi hors du temps historique. Aucun indice n'affleure qui nous permette de situer — ne serait-ce qu'approximativement — à une époque donnée le déroulement du roman, sinon la célébration des Diasies, abandonnée au IIème siècle ap. J.C. (44). Cette date constituerait une limite au-delà de laquelle les aventures d'Hysminias et Hysminè n'auraient plus lieu, les repoussant dans un passé éloigné et vague. A part cela, aucune mention de souverain, par exemple, repère solide, mais des Ethiopiens caricaturaux (VIII, 1, 1 à 8, 3 ; XI, 8, 1 et 15, 3) qui n'ont plus rien à voir avec les Ethiopiens du roman d'Héliodore (45). Comme la mention des Diasies, ils ont l'avantage de renvoyer à une Antiquité quelque peu stéréotypée, sans aucun souci d'exactitude historique, le déroulement du roman. On est bien loin de la tentative faite par les romanciers grecs de reconstituer une atmosphère correspondant, *grosso modo*, à la période grecque classique (46). Même les Byzantins Prodrome et Eugenianos s'y sont un peu essayés. Prodrome attribue aux chefs barbares et à leurs subordonnés des noms aux consonances perses (Mistylos, Bryax, Gobryas et surtout Artaxanès et Artapès) en même temps que les officiers de Mistylos et de Bryax portent le titre de satrapes (47) tout aussi bien évocateur de la Perse où ils faisaient fonction de gouverneurs de province. Quant à Eugenianos, il oppose les Parthes (= les Perses) aux Arabes, ce qui semblerait nous reporter à la première moitié du VIIème siècle ap. J.C. (48). Makrembolitès en

(44) Cf. T. DEUBNER, *Attische Feste*, Hildesheim, 1959, p. 82, et B. PRELIER, *Griechische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1964, T.I, p. 130.

(45) dont les souverains, rappelons-le, sont les parents de l'héroïne, Chariclée (IV, 8, 1-8).

(46) Cf. pour Char. éd. Belles-Lettres, notice, pp. 6-8 ; pour Hél. et Tat. coll. Pléiade, intr., pp. 519 et 872-73. Char. mêle des événements des Vème et IVème siècles comme Tat. sans doute qui élargit encore ce cadre temporel en mentionnant la tour du phare sur l'île de Pharos (V, 6, 2-3) construite au début du IIIème siècle. Quant à Hél., il se limite à l'histoire du IVème siècle (les dernières années de la domination perse en Egypte).

(47) Cf. *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès*, pour Gobryas à partir de III, 112, pour Artaxanès à partir de IV, 9, et IV, 179 pour Artapès.

(48) Cf. OSTROGORSKY, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

Notons bien qu'une étude plus approfondie à laquelle nous nous sommes livrée mais trop longue pour figurer ici ne corrobore pas les hypothèse formulées à partir

regard fait figure de démiurge : il recrée son propre espace et son propre temps (celui qui correspond à la chronologie interne du roman, très précise par opposition aux autres romans (49)) qu'il substitue à un cadre spatio-temporel emprunté à la réalité. Pareil gommage des repères apparente incontestablement *Hysminè et Hysminias* à un conte.

Reste cependant la dimension d'histoire vécue conférée au récit par le narrateur à la fin du roman (XI, 19, 2 à 23, 3). Ce narrateur n'étant autre qu'Hysminias lui-même, le héros, une fusion s'opère (fictivement, s'entend) entre le romancier, le narrateur et un acteur-héros du récit, confondant ainsi en un seul point de vue, celui de l'auteur-narrateur-acteur, des points de vue représentés par des personnages différents dans les romans de Chariton, Xénophon, Héliodore, Tatius (50), Prodrome et Eugenianos. En même temps **se confondent ici voyage dans l'imaginaire et voyage imaginaire** accomplis par un seul et même individu, le romancier-narrateur-acteur qui, il y insiste (XI, 23, 1-2), désire faire bénéficier le lecteur de l'initiation qu'il a subie. L'ambiguïté qui persiste à propos des autres textes lorsque l'on parle de voyage dans l'imaginaire (s'agit-il de celui du romancier dont l'œuvre est fruit du laisser-aller à son inspiration, ou du voyage intérieur que font les héros à la découverte d'eux-mêmes ?) s'évanouit, se résout dans la symbiose entre romancier et héros. Ils partent ensemble dans un pays qui n'existe que par le pouvoir des mots, plus largement encore dans un espace-temps circonscrit à l'intérieur d'un roman mais transcendant aisément celui de la réalité puisqu'il est censé permettre à son créateur d'échapper à son statut d'être humain, lui procurer l'immortalité (XI, 22, 4 à 23, 3). Cet espace in-défini, serait-ce celui de l'éternité ?

de l'observation des données qui viennent d'être présentées. L'incohérence de **l'ensemble** de ces données dans les romans de Prodr. et d'Eug. empêche la localisation précise des événements dans le temps (nous avons observé le même phénomène quant aux repères géographiques, tantôt réels, tantôt fictifs) et le résultat est à un moindre degré (la différence est la même en ce qui concerne la géographie, d'un côté à moitié fictive, de l'autre totalement) identique à celui qu'obtient Makr. : une sorte de dimension in-temporelle du récit.

(49) Cf. notre introduction à la traduction d'*Hysminè et Hysminias* (*supra* 43) pp. 18-19.

(50) Dans *Leucippé et Clitophon* le premier narrateur à la première personne, assimilé à l'auteur (1, 1, 2 à 2, 3) s'efface très vite pour laisser place à un second narrateur toujours à la première personne, comme Hysminias acteur-héros (I, 3, 1 seq.), mais sans plus. Le choix de l'énonciation pratiqué par Tat. n'est donc pas le même que celui de Makr., dont l'unité de l'œuvre est assurée par un seul et même narrateur à la première personne d'un bout à l'autre du roman, lui-même assimilé au personnage de l'auteur.

Que subsiste-t-il de commun avec les voyages des romans grecs ? S'il s'agit dans tous les cas d'un voyage initiatique au terme duquel l'individu se retrouve, mais transformé, son corollaire, le cheminement accompli sur terre et/ou mer par les héros, a une résonance complètement différente selon qu'on envisage les romans grecs ou les romans byzantins. Une dizaine de siècles d'histoire les sépare et le temps a fait son travail. Les Grecs, bien que sous domination romaine, prennent encore possession par l'écriture d'un vaste domaine : tout le bassin méditerranéen. On peut parler chez eux d'expansion dans l'espace et d'intérêt pour une géographie réaliste et précise. Nous l'avons vu en examinant le trajet suivi par les héros ([51]). Les Byzantins n'ont pas du tout la même volonté de se saisir de l'espace par l'écriture. Au contraire pour eux l'espace extérieur, celui de la réalité, n'existe plus beaucoup. S'y substitue un espace intérieur, celui de l'imaginaire, développé en particulier dans le roman de Makrembolitès où la géographie est, nous l'avons dit, entièrement fictive alors qu'elle ne l'est que partiellement chez Prodrome et Eugenianos. Tout se passe comme si, **dans les deux groupes de textes grecs et byzantins, le développement de l'espace géographique imaginaire** était **inversement proportionnel à son déploiement dans la réalité**. Moins en prise avec un monde dont les frontières leur échappent, à l'étroit dans un espace resserré, les Byzantins compensent par une ouverture à un monde intérieur, individuel, dont les frontières sont sans limites. Le recours à une géographie imaginaire constitue, finalement, une sorte de refuge dans la création, à la fois dans le sens de création littéraire et de fabrication d'une nouvelle géographie. Serait-ce une tentative pour structurer davantage l'espace de l'univers mental (qui se laisse plus facilement posséder, maîtriser) au moment où l'on sent que l'Empire se déstructure ?

Université de Toulouse-Mirail. Florence MEUNIER.

(51) L'on peut déjà s'en rendre compte à la lecture du titre porté par deux de ces romans grecs, double titre en fait : outre le nom du couple de héros et le précédant donc prédominant sur lui, une dénomination qui permet d'identifier immédiatement les jeunes gens en fonction de leur lieu d'origine : *Les Ephésiaques* ou *Le roman d'Habrocomès et d'Anthia* pour Xén., *Les Ethiopiques* ou *Théagène et Chariclée* pour Hél.

THE *LIVES* OF POPE MARTIN I AND MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR : SOME RECONSIDERATIONS OF DATING AND PROVENANCE (*)

Recent scholarly interest in the monothelite controversy of the seventh century has brought to light new editions of several key texts. These include Sebastian Brock's edition of the Syriac *Life* of St. Maxi-

(*) *Abbreviations* :

BHL = Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, Brussels, 1900-1901 (=Subs. hag. 6) ; H. Fros, *Novum Supplementum*, Brussels, 1986 (=Subs. hag. 70).

Bracke = R. Bracke, *Ad Sancti Maximi Vitam. Studie van de biografische documenten en de levensbeschrijvingen betreffende Maximus Confessor*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Leuven, 1980.

CCSG = *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*, Turnhout, 1972-.

CPG = M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I-V, Turnhout, 1974-1987.

CPL = E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed., Turnhout, 1995.

Devreesse, 1928 = R. Devreesse, *La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions*, *AB*, 46 (1928), pp. 5-49.

——, 1935 = R. Devreesse, *Le texte grec de l'Hypomnesticon de Théodore Spoudée*, *AB*, 53 (1935), pp. 49-80.

——, 1955 = R. Devreesse, *La lettre d'Anastase l'Apocrisiaire*, *AB*, 73 (1955), pp. 5-16.

Garrigues, 1976a = J. M. Garrigues, *Le sens de la primauté romaine chez saint Maxime le Confesseur*, *Istina*, 21 (1976), pp. 6-24.

——, 1976b = J. M. Garrigues, *Le martyre de S. Maxime le Confesseur*, *Revue Thomiste*, 76 (1976), pp. 410-452.

Grumel = V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, Les Actes des Patriarches, Fasc. 1, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 1972.

Jaffé = P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 1/2, Leipzig, 1885-1888.

Lampe = G. H. W. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961.

Peeters = P. Peeters, *Une vie grecque du Pape S. Martin I*, *AB*, 51 (1933), pp. 225-262.

Sirmond = J. Sirmond, *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Sedis Apostolicae Collectanea*, Paris, 1620.

van Dieten = J. L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johan-*

mus the Confessor (1), Rudolf Riedinger's edition of the *Acts of the Lateran Council* of 649 (2), and an earlier, but essential edition of a fragment of the Greek *Life* of Pope Martin I by Paul Peeters (3). The forthcoming edition in *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* by Pauline Allen and myself of seven documents pertaining to the life of Maximus Confessor, in Greek and in the ninth-century Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, will also facilitate current research on the biographical details of Pope Martin and Maximus the Confessor. This volume will be followed by our edition of the previously unedited third recension of the *Vita Maximi* (*BHG* 1234). In light of these texts, issues of dating, authorship and provenance of the various documents contained in the *Collectanea* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*BHL* 5513), pertaining to the martyrs for the dyothelite cause, deserve serious reconsideration (4). The incomplete and often inaccurate nature of these sources means that we cannot answer all of the questions raised. The aim of this article is not to provide spurious answers to fill these gaps, but to review previous discussion of the subject, by Robert Devreesse, Juan Miguel Garrigues, and Raphaël Bracke in particular, in order to separate what may be supported by the currently available sources

nes IV. (610-715), Geschichte der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, Teil 4, Amsterdam, 1972.

WINKELMANN = F. WINKELMANN, *Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monoenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites, KLIO*, 69 (1987), 2, pp. 515-559.

(1) S. BROCK, *An Early Syriac Life of Maximus Confessor, AB*, 91 (1973), pp. 299-346.

(2) R. RIEDINGER, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Series Secunda, 1/2, Berlin, 1984/1992.

(3) P. PEETERS, *Une vie grecque du Pape S. Martin I, AB*, 51 (1933), pp. 225-262.

(4) Anastasius the Librarian was secretary and adviser to Pope Nicolaus I (858-867), and was elevated to the official position of *bibliothecarius sanctae romanae ecclesiae* by Hadrian II in 867. He continued to hold this position under Pope John VIII until his death, and undertook most of his translations of hagiographical works in the 870s. The *Collectanea*, so called by its first editor, J. SIRMOND, is a collection of works pertaining to the monothelite struggle of the seventh century. It was one of the works dedicated to John the Deacon, court historiographer under Pope John VIII, who intended to compile an ecclesiastical history. This work does not survive, if it was ever completed. Anastasius' translations of the acts of the Seventh and Eighth Ecumenical Councils, and of the *Chronographia Tripertita* — the chronicles of Nicephorus, George Syncellos and Theophanes - were also intended for John's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

from hypotheses which have been accepted by later authors as proven fact. In this way I hope to prevent perpetuation of the same errors, while leaving the way clear for future scholarship to augment our knowledge of the events described in the documents concerned.

The documents translated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius concern the lives of Maximus Confessor and Pope Martin from the time of their arrest in Rome, until their eventual deaths in exile (5). The texts also shed light on several lesser known but significant participants in the monothelite controversy : Maximus' disciple Anastasius the monk, Anastasius the Apocrisiarius and his friends and followers, Theodore Spoudaeus, Theodosius of Gangra, and the brothers Theodore and Euprepius. The date of Martin's forced departure from Rome on 17 June 653, two days after his arrest, is supplied by the Greek *Vita Martini* (6), and confirmed by the first part of the *Collectanea* (7), which mainly concerns Pope Martin. The date of the arrest of Maximus and his disciple Anastasius the Monk is less clear. The redactor of the *Vita Maximi* claims that the two were arrested, along with Anastasius Apocrisiarius, at the same time as Martin (8).

The first group of documents to be considered here constitutes the second part of the *Collectanea*, and pertains to the lives of Maximus and his disciples, Anastasius the Monk and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius. I will take the six documents individually, and in the order in which they appear in the *Collectanea* (9).

(5) In his commentary on cc. 15-21, BROCK, *ibid.*, pp. 323-328, gives a resume of the little information available on Maximus' early years in Africa before he went to Rome after the dispute with Pyrrhus in Carthage in July 645. The Syriac *Vita* makes a brief mention of Martin's arrival in Constantinople (c. 21), although it is not clear whether this refers to 653, following his arrest in Rome, or to his time as papal apocrisiarius under Pope Theodore (642-649), before his own consecration on 5 July 649.

(6) PEETERS, 1933, p. 235.

(7) SIRMOND, p. 79 : *Eadem ergo nocte, quae illucescit in feria quarta, quae erat tertiodecimo Kalendas Iulias...*

(8) *Vita Maximi Recensio II*, ed. F. COMBEFIS, *PG*, 90, 85D-88A. The third recension offers the same information, but contains an additional paragraph dating Constans' interest in the monothelite dispute to the ninth year of his reign, i.e. 650. This fragment of *Recensio III* was edited by DEVREESSE, 1928, pp. 22, l. 19-23, l. 6.

(9) A seventh, entitled *Adversus Constantinopolitanos* (*CPG* 7740), will be included in the *CCSG* edition, but because it does not appear in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' collection, it has not been dealt with here.

1. *Relatio Motionis* (*CPG* 7736)

Contents: A record of the first trial of Maximus and his disciple Anastasius in Constantinople, at which Maximus is sentenced to exile in Bizya, and Anastasius to Perberis.

Date: It is not possible to give a more precise dating for this trial than the year 655 ([10]). Devreesse maintained that the trial took place in May of that year ([11]), on the basis of an incorrect dating of a letter of Maximus to Anastasius, which he assumed to be contemporaneous with this trial ([12]). Van Dieten, also relying on the incorrectly dated *Letter of Maximus*, gives the more specific, but no more accurate, dates of Saturday 23, and Sunday 24 May 655 ([13]). The text merely says that the trial began "several days" after their arrival in Constantinople, for which no precise date is given. The first day of the trial was a Saturday: "For behold, Roman emissaries arrived yesterday, and tomorrow on Sunday they will communicate with the Patriarch ([14])". This seems to refer to the emissaries of Pope Eugenius, who presented themselves to the see of Constantinople soon after the pope's election in August 654. The second day of the trial took place on "the next Saturday" and the sentence of exile was given by the emperor on the following Sunday. At the end of the *Relatio* ([15]), the author states that, at the time of writing, Maximus and his disciple are still in exile, in Bizya and Perberis respectively. Maximus remained at Bizya until 8 September 656, when he was transferred to Rhegium.

Authorship: The existence of two disciples of Maximus, both called Anastasius, accounts for two of the claims made for the authorship of this document. Devreesse attributed the *Relatio* to Anastasius the Disciple ([16]), giving no reason, but presumably on account of a phrase from the *Vita Maximi* where the author attributes the *Relatio Motionis*

(10) Cf. G. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor — Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality, London, 1985, p. 28, n. 1: "This is ...the first trial of Maximus, which took place in Constantinople in June, 654" following Garrigues, 1976b, p. 414.

(11) Devreesse, 1928, p. 29f.; followed by Winkelmann, Nr. 132, p. 542.

(12) On the traditional dating of this letter, see Document 2.

(13) Van Dieten, p. 108.

(14) Sirmond, p. 127f.: *Ecce enim heri venerunt apocrisiarii Romani, et cras dominico die communicabunt patriarchae...*

(15) Sirmond, p. 137.

(16) Devreesse, 1928, p. 8.

to the disciple of the holy man ([17]). Lampe, on the other hand, attributed the *Relatio Motionis* and *Disputatio* ([18]) of the *Acta Maximi* to Maximus' supporter and fellow-sufferer, Anastasius Apocrisiarius, probably on the basis of the same phrase in the *Vita Maximi*. The attribution made in the *Vita* must be treated with caution, until the dating of the second recension and its relationship to the third has been established. The redactor of *Recensio III* uses this same phrase ([19]) to introduce the *Disputatio* at the point where the *Relatio Motionis* is inserted, in a paraphrased version, in *Recensio II*. Garrigues suggested as joint authors of these documents Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra, who are connected with documents 5 and 6 below, and who theoretically could have been eye-witnesses to the trial ([20]). Bracke rejected all these attributions ([21]) in favour of the joint authorship of the two documents by Maximus and Anastasius his disciple.

2. *Epistula Maximi ad Anastasium monachum, suum discipulum* (*CPG* 7701)

Contents : An account of a discussion between Maximus and representatives of the patriarch, unnamed here but identified as Peter in two recensions of the *Vita* ([22]). This letter is incorporated into *Recensio II* as part of the dispute between Maximus and Theodosius bishop of Caesarea Bithynia.

Date : This letter was traditionally dated to May 655 on the basis of Migne's corrupt version of the text ([23]), but the date has been correctly established by the current edition, which reads *μεσοπεντηκοστή* instead of the corrupt *πεντηκοστή* ([24]). The correct Greek reading agrees

(17) *Recensio II, PG*, 90, 88, D5-10 : *ὁ καλὸς τοῦ ὁσίου μαθητὴς...*

(18) See Document 4 below.

(19) I.e. *αὐτὸς ὁ καλὸς τοῦ ὁσίου μαθητὴς ἐπὶ μέρους διέξεισιν... Vita Maximi Recensio III*, forthcoming edition.

(20) GARRIGUES, 1976b, p. 414.

(21) BRACKE, p. 132f., p. 136.

(22) BRACKE, p. 66 ; Peter was patriarch of Constantinople from June 654 until October 666.

(23) E.g. DEVREESSE, 1928, p. 30 : "Maxime raconte que le 18 du mois, hier écrit-il, jour de la Pentecôte [18 Mai 655] le Patriarche Pierre vint vers lui..."; cf. WINKELMANN, Nr. 136, p. 543 : "Berichtet über das Verhör vom 16.5." VAN DIETEN, p. 107, also adopts the date of Pentecost, 18 May 655, for the interrogation described in the letter. Pentecost fell on 17 May in 655.

(24) See, however, *PG*, 90, 131-132, n. (a) : *μεσοπεντη. legit Anastasius (Bibliothecarius) quem et sequor* (ed. F. COMBEFIS).

with Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version (25), allowing us to date the letter to 19 April 658, since Mid-Pentecost fell on 18 April in that year (26).

Addressee : Bracke claimed that the addressee of the letter was more likely to have been Anastasius Apocrisiarius, then in exile in Mesembria, than Anastasius the Disciple, who was in the same place of exile, namely Perberis, as Maximus when he wrote the letter (27). We have no reason to believe that Maximus was in communication with the Apocrisiarius at this time, although, in his *Dispute with Theodosius* in 656, Maximus does refer to the fact that Anastasius was in Mesembria, in citing the Apocrisiarius' knowledge of Latin and his reputation in Rome as reasons why Anastasius, rather than Maximus himself, should accompany Theodosius to Rome (28).

The incorrect dating of the letter has also caused some confusion over the dating of the documents to which the letter makes reference. The compromise formula of the Patriarch Peter of Constantinople does not survive, but is reported in the letter by the legates of the patriarch : "We say there are two operations on account of diversity, and one on account of the union" (29). Winkelmann concurs with Devreesse (30) in incorrectly dating to May 655 a letter of the Patriarch Peter to Maximus. The contents of this letter are extrapolated from the beginning of the letter of Maximus, where the legates of the patriarch read to Maximus a letter from the patriarch advising him to join with the united patriarchates of Constantinople, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. Given the revised dating of the letter of Maximus, the letter of the patriarch should rather be dated to some time shortly before 19 April 658 (31).

(25) SIRMOND, p. 136f. : *Heri quod fuit vicesima secunda mensis dies, qua solemnitas agebatur sanctae Mediae Pentecostes...*(= *PL*, 129, 622, B6-7).

(26) So BRACKE, p. 69, and GARRIGUES, 1976a, p. 22.

(27) BRACKE, p. 159.

(28) *PG*, 90, 156, A5-10.

(29) *PG*, 90, 621, C2-3 : *Δύο λέγομεν ἐνεργείας διὰ τὴν διαφοράν, καὶ μίαν διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν.*

(30) WINKELMANN, Nr. 134, p. 543 ; DEVREESSE, 1928, p. 29f.

(31) GRUMEL, p. 233, Nr. 305, dates the patriarch's warning letter to Maximus to "mai 658, avant le 18" following A. JÜLICHER, *Berichtigung, Festschr. Harnack*, Tübingen, 1921, pp. 130-131, which date should be corrected to May 655, according to E. CASPAR, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2, Tübingen, 1933, p. 780.

There is a coda to the letter in the Latin version of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, which has given rise to much speculation (32). The meaning of the Latin is unclear due to the layout of this coda. The name ANASTASIUS appears at the end of the letter, followed on the next line by :

> *Haec iussit mihi transcribere et nota facere sanctissimis uobis, quo et ex his motione comperta, communem...afferatis Domino precem...*

Bracke, Garrigues and Winkelmann have nominated Maximus Confessor as the subject of this sentence, translating it as : "Maximus ordered me (Anastasius the Disciple) (33) to transcribe this and send it to you", and have claimed that the addressees (*sanctissimis uobis*) are the monks of Cagliari, the addressees of the following letter of Anastasius. However, I think it more likely that the subject is the Anastasius from the previous line, who ordered the compiler of these documents (whose identity will be discussed below — Anastasius Apocrisiarius, Theodore Spoudaeus, or a third party ?) to make a copy of Maximus' letter to himself, for the edification of others. There is some similarity of phrasing in the epilogue of the *Commemoratio*, pointing to the possible authorship of Theodore Spoudaeus.

3. *Epistula Anastasii monachi discipuli ad monachos Calaritanos* (*CPG* 7725)

Contents : A plea for help and an offer of encouragement to the monks of Cagliari in their continued resistance to the monothelite party. The letter of Anastasius to the monks of Cagliari survives only in the Latin version of Anastasius Bibliothecarius.

Date : This letter must be dated after the letter of Maximus to Anastasius (see above) on doctrinal grounds — Anastasius speaks of *voluntates et operationes* while Maximus in his letter speaks only of *ἐνέργειαι* (*operationes*) (34). This shows a development of doctrine,

(32) BRACKE, pp. 79ff. ; WINKELMANN, Nr. 137, p. 543 ; GARRIGUES, 1976a, p. 23.

(33) BRACKE, p. 159, suggests that the recipient is more likely to be Anastasius Apocrisiarius, but admits that this cannot be proven from the manuscripts. Anastasius is described as *Ἀναστάσιον μονάζοντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὴν* in the title to the letter ; (*monachum discipulum suum*).

(34) BRACKE, p. 83f.

possibly in answer to the letter of Patriarch Peter to Pope Vitalian on the subject of wills and operations in late 657 or early 658 ([35]).

Authorship : Here again the ambiguity of the name 'Anastasius' has led to dispute. Bracke believes that this letter is from the hand of Anastasius Apocrisiarius, although the Greek equivalent of the term *monachus discipulus sancti abbatis Maximi* is always used elsewhere to indicate the other Anastasius, the disciple of Maximus ([36]). In support of this hypothesis, Bracke points to the doctrinal similarities between this letter and the *Syllogismi*, both referring to the trithelite doctrine of the Patriarch Peter ([37]).

4. *Disputatio inter Maximum et Theodosium Caesareae Bithyniae* (*CPG* 7735)

Contents : An account of the debate between Maximus and bishop Theodosius of Caesarea Bithynia, which took place in Bizya in August 656, and a brief account of further discussions held in Rhegium and Selymbria in the following month.

Date : Bracke correctly dates the writing of the *Disputatio* to 656 or 657 ([38]), i.e. shortly after the events took place in August and September 656, while Anastasius Apocrisiarius was in exile in Mesembria, and Maximus and Anastasius his disciple were in Perberis. He cites two dates given in the text : 24 August "of the now-passed fourteenth indiction" and 8 September "of the current fifteenth indiction" ([39]). The last part of the *Disputatio*, the Third Sentence, is not included in the Latin, and is also omitted from one of the Greek manuscripts, *Athonensis Vatopedinus* 475, and must be considered as a later addition.

Authorship : Like the *Relatio Motionis*, the *Disputatio* was attributed first to Anastasius the Disciple by Devreesse ([40]), probably on the basis

(35) WINKELMANN, Nr. 147, p. 545 ; reported in *Ep. Papae Agathonis* (a. 680), MANSI, XI, 276C-277A.

(36) See n. 33 above ; however, in the heading of his *Letter to Theodosius of Gangra* (see below, Document 5), Anastasius Apocrisiarius refers to himself as *Anastasius exiguus misericordia Dei presbyter et monachus* (my emphasis).

(37) BRACKE, p. 159.

(38) BRACKE, p. 138f.

(39) *PG*, 90, 137A4-6 ; *ibid.*, 160D2-3.

(40) DEVREESSE, 1928, p. 8.

of the *Vita Maximi Recensio II* (41) ; then to Anastasius Apocrisiarius by Lampe ; and thirdly, to Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra by Garrigues (42). Bracke rejects all of these in favour of joint authorship by Maximus and Anastasius the Disciple (43). As noted above (44), the redactor of the third recension of the *Vita Maximi* attributes the *Disputatio* to "the disciple of the holy man". One phrase of the *Disputatio* is almost identical with a phrase in the epilogue of the *Commemoration of Martin* (45), lending support to Garrigue's attribution. Alternatively, the author of the *Commemoratio* could have modelled his work on the *Disputatio*.

5. *Anastasii Apocrisiarii Epistula ad Theodosium Gangrensem* (*CPG* 7733)

Contents : This letter to Theodosius, the "genuine brother" of Theodore Spoudaeus, describes the Apocrisiarius' final years in exile, with a plea for visitors who might bring him a copy of the Acts of the Lateran Council. He attached to the letter the so-called *Testimonia*, eight extracts falsely attributed to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus Romanus. The Greek text, surviving in a *codex unicus*, is not complete, lacking one folio (46).

Date : Anastasius Apocrisiarius' letter was written soon before his death on 11 October 666, and was received by Theodosius and Theodore on 20 August 668, together with "testimonia and syllogisms" of Anastasius (47).

Authorship : Anastasius claimed that he copied the *Testimonia* while in Constantinople, and that the whole volume of Hippolytus was still to be found there (48), but this work, if it in fact existed, has never

(41) *PG*, 90, 96, D8-10 : *Ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀνὰ μέρος ὑφήγησιν, τὸ ἐκτεθὲν πρὸς τοῦ καλοῦ Ἀναστασίου, καθά μοι καὶ ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται, διεμφαίνει ὑπόμνημα.*

(42) GARRIGUES, 1976b, p. 427.

(43) BRACKE, p. 144.

(44) Document 1, *Relatio Motionis*.

(45) *necessarium duxi manifesta facere...* (*Disputatio*, SIRMOND, p. 149), cf. *necessarium duxi...significare* (*Commemoratio*, SIRMOND, p. 113). On the *Commemoratio*, see below.

(46) *Vaticanus grecus* 1912, ff. 108v-109v (s. X).

(47) *Hypomnesticon*, SIRMOND, p. 264f.

(48) *Ep. Anastasii ad Theodosium Gangrensem*, SIRMOND, p. 205. In his article, *A propos de la versio arménienne de l'historien Socrate, Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie Orientales*, t. 1, Brussels, 1951, p. 334, PEETERS maintained that

come to light. The extracts are not attached to the letter in the single Greek witness to the letter of Anastasius. The Greek version (*CPG* 1916) does exist, however, in at least two other codices, which have been edited in the *Doctrina Patrum* ([49]) and in Migne's *Patrologia* ([50]).

The letter is preceded by a prologue, presumably by Theodore or Theodosius, or a third-party compiler ([51]), and concludes with a scholion giving the date of Anastasius' death. The prologue refers to the amputation of Anastasius' right hand, showing familiarity with the *Hypomnesticon*. Following the *Testimonia* in the Latin version are the *Syllogisms*, which have not yet been discovered in Greek. The *Syllogisms* consist of several short citations from the *Testimonia*, as well as a long prologue and epilogue, which are very similar in tone and wording to the prologue of the *Testimonia*. In both the title given in the Latin version (*Par. lat.* 5095, f. 50r-v), and the prologue to the letter of Anastasius, the *Syllogisms* are attributed to Anastasius Apocrisiarius, although he himself does not mention the *Syllogisms* in his letter.

6. *Hypomnesticon* (*CPG* 7968)

Contents : A commemoration of the trials in exile of Martin, Maximus, Anastasius his disciple, Anastasius Apocrisiarius, Theodore and Euprepius.

Date : Written soon after the *Letter of Anastasius* (Document 5) was received in August 668.

Anastasius Apocrisiarius asked for the whole work of Pseudo-Hippolytus to be brought to him, citing SIRMOND, p. 204 : *rotulam habentem testimonia ex dictis sancti Hippolyti episcopi Portus Romani ac martyris Christi.* Here Anastasius is describing the scroll that he is sending to Theodosius (*Praeterea misi ad praesens cum hac epistola mea...rotulam habentem testimonia...*), rather than asking for it to be sent to him.

(49) F. DIEKAMP, *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, Münster, 1981, pp. 321-326, under the name of Hippolytus, but with a warning that Anastasius' account of the origin of the extracts should not be believed (*ibid.*, p. XLVIII).

(50) *PG*, 10, 829-840 ; *PG*, 90, 180-188 ; *PL*, 129, 665-675.

(51) DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 59, n. 3 expresses the opinion that this prologue must be the work of Theodore Spoudaeus, while P. CONTE, *Il Sinodo Lateranense dell'ottobre 649*, Collezione Teologica 3, Vatican, 1989, p. 218, holds for Theodosius of Gangra. While this introduction does not appear in the incomplete Greek version of the text in *Vat. grec.* 1912, it does, however, contain identical phrases to the Greek title under which a small section of the letter is presented in *Mosq. Bibl. Synod.* 380, f. 252r-v (ed. S. L. EPIFANOVIČ, *Materialy k izučeniiu žizni i tvorenii prep. Maksima Ispoviednika*, Kiev, 1917, p. 9).

Authorship : The author refers to "us, Theodosius of Gangra and Theodore Spoudaeus" (52). Devreesse has established that Theodore was the more likely author, following the attribution in the Greek prologue of the work : *ὡς Θεόδωρός τις μαθητεύσας τῇ θείᾳ ὁμηγύρει ταύτῃ συγγραφὴν ἐποιήσατο ἔχουσαν οὕτως* (53). Devreesse suggests that this "holy assembly" may refer to the association of Spoudaei in Constantinople (54).

The Greek version has a different title from the Latin, and its prologue is drawn largely from Theophanes (55). It describes the death of Constans in Sicily, followed by a few lines introducing the death in exile of Maximus, the two Anastasii and Martin. The Latin introduction is quite different, and Devreesse claims it must be the invention of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (56). Since we have no other examples of Anastasius adding significantly to the works he is translating, and the Latin bears all the signs of being a translation from Greek, I do not believe this to be the case. Theodore (or a

(52) *Data vero est nobis vere minimis, Theodosio scilicet et Theodore, germanis et sine dolo fratribus humilibus et peccatoribus monachis...* (SIRMOND, p. 265).

(53) "...as a certain Theodore, having learnt of it, made a record for the holy assembly, holding thus", cited by DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 50, as the reason for his rejection of his original suggestion of Theodosius of Gangra (cf. DEVREESSE, 1928, p. 9, where the names of Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra are conflated : "L'auteur paraît être Théodore de Gangres, le même probablement que Théodore correspondant du pape Martin").

(54) These are probably the Spoudaei established in Constantinople by John Chrysostom to combat the Arians. On the associations of Spoudaei, see S. PÉTRIDÈS, *Les Spoudaei de Jérusalem et de Constantinople, ÉO*, 7 (1904), pp. 341-348. Theodore of S. Sophia is described as a monk in the *Hypomnesticon*, which conflicts with PÉTRIDÈS' assertion that the Spoudaei were associations of lay people (*ibid.*, p. 341). GARRIGUES, 1976a, p. 15, expresses the opinion that Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodore of Gangra were from Jerusalem, on the basis of the Latin prologue to Anastasius' letter : *ad Theodosium Presbyterum Gangrensem, et monachum in sancta Christi nostri civitate constitutum* (SIRMOND, p. 193). GARRIGUES goes further in 1976b, p. 447, n. 76, where he claims that "les nombreuses allusions à l'Anastasis que l'on trouve dans l'ensemble des écrits des frères Théodore et Théodose de Gangres, montrent que la congrégation des Spoudées à laquelle ils disent appartenir est celle de Jérusalem, qui desservait l'Anastasis". The allusions to which he refers, however, do not connect the brothers personally with that church. Theodore, at least, must belong to the congregation of Sancta Sophia, if the title of the *Narrationes* is accurate (on which see below).

(55) C. DE BOOR, *Theophanes Chronographia*, v. 1, Leipzig, 1885, repr. New York, 1980, p. 351f. Translated by C. MANGO and R. SCOTT, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, Oxford, 1997, p. 490f.

(56) DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 59, n. 3.

compiler) seems to be the most likely candidate for authorship of this prologue, and also for the Latin coda, not edited by Sirmond :

> *Expliciunt commemorationes de sanctis papa Martino et Maximo monachos seu Anastasio itemque Anastasio discipulis eius, atque Euprepio et Theodoro Germanis* ([57]).

The author of the Latin prologue refers to "the letter of Anastasius attached here", indicating that the *Hypomnesticon* was appended to the *Letter of Anastasius to Theodosius of Gangra.*

This brings us to the question of the identity of the compiler of the *Collectanea.* Several names have been suggested, including that of Anastasius Apocrisiarius. Devreesse asks whether it might have been the Apocrisiarius who compiled the first part of the dossier which Anastasius Bibliothecarius translated, i.e. the first eight pieces of the *Collectanea* ([58]) and a part of the *Acta Maximi* ([59]). I would suggest rather that the first eight pieces of the *Collectanea* were collected by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, judging by his prologue to John the Deacon, where he lists the translated works intended for John's *Historia Ecclesiastica.* In this prologue, Anastasius outlines his authorial purpose of refuting the small-minded in this cause of great piety, and of acknowledging the power of the Apostolic See against those who are bent on violent resistance to it ([60]). Of the letter of Maximus to Thalassius, he says he has taken an extract, indicating an active role in the collation of the documents in the collection ([61]). He goes on to present the two main works of the collection :

> *Porro ecce nihilominus exhibeo tibi exilii gesta sancti Papae Martini, quae ad petitum venerabilis Martini Episcopi Narniensis ediderам : una*

(57) *Par. lat.* 5095, f. 58v.

(58) SIRMOND, pp. 13-67 ; i.e. *Apologia of Pope John to the Emperor Constantine for Honorius*, three letters of Pope Theodore, and various excerpts from letters of Maximus. The first document (SIRMOND, p. 12), an extract from the *Dispute between Maximus and Pyrrhus*, DEVREESSE has omitted from his listing.

(59) SIRMOND, pp. 114-91 ; i.e. Documents 1-4 above : *Relatio Motionis, Ep. Maximi, Ep. Anastasii ad Monachos Calaritanos*, and the *Disputatio.*

(60) ... *gratia imitandae constantiae in causa maximae pietatis ad redargutionem pusillanimorum, et agnoscendae potestatis Apostolicae Sedis, contra eos qui ab ipsa quid violenter extorquere nituntur* (SIRMOND, pp. 10-11).

(61) *Excerpsi, nihilominus, et tibi ecce translatam praesento, quandam narrationis circumstantiam ex epistola sancti Maximi ad Thalassium scriptam Abbatem...* (SIRMOND, p. 10).

> *cum Hypomnesticon declarante breviter gesta sanctorum Maximi Philosophi, et utriusque Anastasii, nec non et Theodori, ac Euprepii, et aliorum* (62).

The acts of Martin in exile appear in *BHL* 5592 under the title *Narrationes de exsilio et morte S. Martini* (63). Anastasius refers to the whole of the six documents pertaining to the life of Maximus and his disciples as the "Hypomnesticon" which suggests that he found them as a collection. In his earlier preface to the *Narrationes* which dates to September/October 874, and is addressed to Martin Bishop of Narni, Anastasius reports :

> *Quia vero quaedam ex Actis beati Maximi monachi, ac discipulorum eius, huic operi connexa et continuata reperi, et ipsa quoque, si vita comes fuerit, transferre Deo praeduce minime recusabo* (64).

His life did indeed last long enough, and we find the translation of the second part of the work in his *Collectanea.*

As for the first four documents pertaining to Maximus listed above, the Apocrisiarius could have obtained copies of Anastasius the Disciple's letter from Maximus, and the same disciple's letter to the monks of Cagliari, while Maximus and the two Anastasii were in Constantinople for the trial of 662 (65). Garrigues suggests that the compilation

(62) "Moreover, look, I present to you the acts in exile of holy pope Martin, which I edited at the request of the reverend Martin bishop of Narni, together with the Hypomnesticon, briefly outlining the acts of the saints Maximus the Philosopher, and of both Anastasii, and also of Theodore and Euprepius, and others" (SIRMOND, p. 11).

(63) SIRMOND, pp. 68-113.

(64) "But because I have found certain documents of the Acts of the blessed monk Maximus and his disciples, connected to this work and continuing from it, I will not refuse to translate those too, if my life lasts long enough, and with the help of God" (SIRMOND, p. 69). Anastasius notes in the same preface that he did not have time to make the translation himself, but commissioned someone else to do it and corrected his work in some places : *sed ab alio petitu meo interpretata postmodum in quibusdam correxi* (SIRMOND, p. 69).

(65) DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 61, n. 1. We may note in passing that, while most of our Greek manuscripts only contain one or two, or at most three of the documents in question, *Vaticanus graecus* 1912 contains the *Dispute with Pyrrhus* (*CPG* 7698), *Relatio Motionis, Dispute with Theodosius*, the *Letter of Maximus* and *Letter of Anastasius to Theodosius of Gangra*, as well as an extract of the *Acts of the Lateran Council of 649*, i.e. the *Typos*, ed. R. RIEDINGER, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ser. II, vol. I, 1, Berlin, 1984, pp. 208, l. 1-210, l. 15. This could well represent the original dossier of Anastasius Apocrisiarius, passed on to Theodore, minus the *Testimonia* and *Syllogisms* attached to his letter to Theodosius.

of the whole dossier, by which he means the *Narrationes de exsilio S. Martini* and the six documents listed above, was a collaborative effort between Theodore and his "brother" Theodosius (66). We know that Theodore Spoudaeus, in collaboration, perhaps, with Theodosius of Gangra, wrote the *Hypomnesticon*, and that he and Theodosius received from Gregory, abbot of the monastery of St John the Baptist, the letter to Theodosius, as well as other books and writings of the Apocrisiarius. Theodore is also named as the author of the first part of the *Narrationes de exsilio S. Martini*, entitled in *BHL* 5593 *Ex libello Theodori Sanctae Sophiae Spoudaei*, which contains two genuine letters of Martin to Theodore (67). The second part, called the *Commemoratio* (*BHL* 5594), consists of a letter of "a certain most devout Christian to the orthodox fathers in Rome and Africa" and also contains two letters from Martin to his "most dear friend" in Constantinople (68).

There is no conclusive proof that Theodore was connected with the *Commemoratio*, although it is attributed to him in *CPG* 7969 (cf. *CPL* 1734) and by Devreesse (69). The author claims to have been an eyewitness of many of the events (70), as Theodore could well have been, but neither the superscription nor Martin's third and fourth letters make reference to Theodore by name. The superscription introduces the *Commemoratio* as "the letter of a certain most devout Christian, sent to the orthodox fathers who are in the West, both in Rome and in Africa" (71). There are, however, striking similarities between the

(66) GARRIGUES, 1976b, p. 414 : "Nous pensons qu'il faut attribuer cette *Relatio Motionis*, ainsi que tout le dossier concernant le martyre des victimes du monothélisme, aux frères Théodore et Théodose de Gangres, de la confrérie des Spoudées de Jérusalem".

(67) JAFFÉ, 2078 and 2079.

(68) JAFFÉ, 2080 and 2081. This "most dear friend" may have been Theodore himself, as suggested by DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 53, n. 1 : "On ne lit pas en toutes lettres le nom de Théodore Spoudée, mais tout porte à croire que c'est lui qui se désigne...".

(69) DEVREESSE, 1935, pp. 52-53 : "Au début de l'été 655, alors que le pape était en exil depuis une année, Théodore Spoudée rédigeait pour les fidèles de Rome et d'Afrique la chronique émouvante des avanies survenues à Martin depuis son enlèvement de Rome jusqu'à son départ secret pour la Chersonèse ; à quoi il ajoutait quelques lignes sur la misère du pape en terre d'exil".

(70) SIRMOND, p. 82.

(71) I.e. *epistolam cuiusdam Christianissimi, directam his qui sunt in Occidente, seu Romae, et in Africa, orthodoxis patribus* (SIRMOND, p. 81). The poem beginning *Unice natus* ... (SIRMOND, p. 70) may have been composed in Latin, since it appears separately in other later Latin manuscripts, *Vat. lat.* 1192 (s. XII) and *Vat. lat.* 6076

record of the trial of Martin in the *Commemoratio*, and the trials of Maximus recounted in the *Relatio Motionis* and *Disputatio*. There are also certain similarities between the epilogue of the *Commemoratio* and the *Hypomnesticon* ([72]), which point to Theodore's authorship of the former.

Let us assume then, on the basis of these similarities, that the *Commemoratio* was written or compiled by Theodore. The first and second parts of the *Narrationes* in all probability derive from the same document ([73]). We are still left with the question of who put together the *Narrationes* and the group of documents concerning the acts of Maximus, which Anastasius Bibliothecarius calls the "Hypomnesticon". The linking passage between the two in the *Collectanea*, at the end of the epilogue of the *Commemoratio*, reveals that the collator was someone other than the translator :

> *Et haec quidem de sanctissimo et famulo Christ Dei nostri Apostolico dicta sint. De cetero uero necessarium duxi, etiam de diuinitus honoratis et illustratis patribus nostris et concertatoribus eius dilectioni uestrae significare* ([74]).

This must be attributed either to Theodore Spoudaeus, or to the author of the introduction to the *Ex libello Theodori Spoudaei*. This introduction contains certain phrases identical to the prologue of the *Letter of Anastasius* ([75]).

(s. XVII). It is introduced in *Par. lat.* 5095, f. 18, by these words of the translator : *huius sane initium operis iuxta sensus duntaxat virtutem ita se habet*, which are absent from the other manuscript witness, *Vallicellianus Tomus IX*, (s. X), f. 166.

(72) E.g. *ministrantes illi ex his quae Dominus unicuique nostrum donavit (Commemoratio*, SIRMOND, p. 111), cf. *merentes illis ... ministrare de paupercula quae inerat nobis ex parentum benedictione, sicut in Domino (Hypomnesticon, ibid.*, p. 266) ; *... quod omnia, quae in eum facta sunt, ob rectam fidem eius effecta sint (Comm., ibid.*, p. 111), cf. *astuto ac versuto molimine has illis aliter atque aliter, quasi non pro fide sed sub praetextu aliarum ingerebant occasionum (Hypo., ibid.*, p. 267) ; *singuli secundum vires reficiamus, et consolemur tribulationes eorum... (Comm., ibid.*, p. 112f.), cf. *illuc enim profecti fueramus...secundum consuetudinem ad visitatione eorum (Hypo., ibid.*, p. 295).

(73) They are described as such in the contents of *Par. lat.* 5095, f. 3 : *Exilium sancti Martini papae Romani.*

(74) SIRMOND, p. 113 : "And these things were said indeed about the most holy and Apostolic servant of Christ our God. But I have also considered it necessary, even to tell you, beloved ones, about our divinely honoured and illumined fathers and his fellow-strugglers".

(75) E.g. *nouum reuera confessorem et martyrem Christi Dei nostri ... propter*

The same introduction provides some clues to the dating of the two parts of the *Narrationes S. Martini.* The author states that Theodore S. Sophiae Spoudaeus wrote this for Theodore and Euprepius (76), who had been in exile in the Chersonese from 647/648 for resistance against the *Typos* of Constans II. Euprepius died there on 26 October 655 (77). The first two letters of the *Libellus* of Theodore, describing Martin's recent arrest in Rome, and his journey to Constantinople, must date from 654, soon after Martin's arrival in Constantinople on 17 September 653. Theodore writes :

> *Postquam reversus est in excubitu cum sudoribus quos nouit Deus, potui ei scribere...ac prae oculis habens naufragium Sergii Cypriorum insulae Archepiscopi. Rescribit ergo ita .* (78)

The date of shipwreck of Sergius Archbishop of Cyprus, referred to here, is unknown (79).

The dating of the *Commemoratio* is similarly obscure. Devreesse offers two possibilities : the beginning of summer in 655, after Martin had been in exile for a year, or the end of autumn 654 (80). By his own account, Martin arrived in the Chersonese on 15 May 654 (81). The death of Pyrrhus is mentioned (1 June 654), as well as the succession of the following patriarch (82). Pyrrhus' successor, Peter, was Patriarch of Constantinople from June 654 until October 666. Martin's third letter was written more than thirty days after his arrival in Cherson, i.e. after 15 June 654, as noted by Devreesse (83). There is an allusion in the fourth letter to "*usque ad praesentem Septembrium mensem*" (84), indicating either September 654 or 655 ; Devreesse opts

uerbum ueritatis (SIRMOND, p. 70) ; cf. *Ep. Anastasii, ibid.*, p. 192 : *noui scilicet confessoris, uel ... martyris ueritatis ... propter uerbum tantummodo ueritatis.*

(76) *... scripta sunt sanctis Theodoro et Euprepio germanis fratribus, et regiis pistorum principibus constitutis in exilio Chersonis*, (SIRMOND, p. 70).

(77) *Hypomnesticon*, SIRMOND, p. 258.

(78) SIRMOND, p. 70-71.

(79) As the bishop of Constantia, Sergius convened a provincial council to condemn monothelitism, and his correspondence on the topic with Pope Theodore survives in *CPG* 7628, dated to 29 May 643 by VAN DIETEN, p. 82f. The letter is edited by RIEDINGER, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 60-64.

(80) DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 52f. ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 58.

(81) *Commemoratio*, SIRMOND, p. 106 : *... idibus Maiis et venimus in Chersonem.*

(82) SIRMOND, p. 112.

(83) DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 55.

(84) SIRMOND, p. 108.

for 654, providing the basis for his second dating of the *Commemoratio* to the end of autumn 654 ([85]).

Martin, then, had been in exile for a considerable time when the *Commemoratio* was written, but it is not clear whether he had already died by that time. Both the *obiit* in the *Commemoratio*, and the *Hypomnesticon*, date Martin's death to 16 September 655 ([86]), but the *obiit* may have been added at a later date by the compiler. This date conflicts with that given in the *Vita Martini* of 13 April 656 ([87]). In the epilogue, Martin is referred to as having "offered a bloodless sacrifice to Christ God for the salvation of our souls in your Church" but then the author requests the readers to have compassion on him, and to minister to him from their own resources ([88]). The author also makes reference to "the long period of exile here" of Anastasius (the Apocrisiarius) and those around him (which must refer to his loyal supporters, the brothers Euprepius, who died in October 655, and Theodore, who was still alive in 668), as well as of lord Maximus and his disciple ([89]). This passage better describes the exiles endured by Anastasius subsequent to the trial of 662, than those endured earlier in Mesembria. We are informed in the *Hypomnesticon* that Anastasius was transferred to Mesembria from his exile in Trebizond, where he had been since 647 or 648, but no date is given ([90]). As indicated above, Anastasius is mentioned in the *Disputatio* as being at Mesembria in August 656. According to the redactor of the *Vita Maximi Recensio*

(85) DEVREESSE, 1935, p. 58.

(86) SIRMOND, p. 104.

(87) PEETERS, in *Une vie grecque du Pape S. Martin I, AB*, 51 (1933), pp. 232ff. pointed out several discrepancies of detail between the *Narrationes* and the Greek *Vita Martini*, of which he edited a fragment (*BHG* 2259). While here he declared it impossible to choose between the two dates given for Martin's death, that is, between 16 September 655 (as recorded in the *Hypomnesticon* and the *Commemoratio*) and 13 April 656, as indicated in the *Vita Martini*, PEETERS later altered his position in favour of the witness of the *Vita* (12 Novembris, *Propylaeum Decembris, Acta Sanctorum*, Brussels, 1940, pp. 513-514). The year is wrongly recorded on p. 514 as 13 April 654, instead of 656.

(88) *Commemoratio*, SIRMOND, p. 111 : *sed quia incruentum Christo Deo pro salute animarum nostrarum in ecclesia vestra sacrificium obtulit* ; cf. *...et saltem ex parte reficiamus eum, et compatiamur ei, ministrantes illi ex his quae Dominus unicuique nostrum donauit...*

(89) SIRMOND, p. 112 : *eos qui circa monachum Anastasium erant, qui a tempore multo hic propter Christum de loco in locum tractus afflictus est. Simili modo et domnum Maximum, et discipulum eius.*

(90) SIRMOND, p. 256.

II (91), the Apocrisiarius was sentenced to exile in Mesembria at the same time as Maximus was exiled to Bizya and Anastasius his disciple sent to Perberis. The chronology of the *Vita* is often confused, however, so we cannot rely on its validity as a source. The *Relatio Motionis* makes no mention of Anastasius Apocrisiarius when Maximus and the other Anastasius are sentenced to exile (92). 'Here' (*hic*) would then seem to refer to Lazica, the final destination of Theodore's and Theodosius' journey of 668. We must conclude that this epilogue, at least, was written by Theodore (or the compiler) around the same time as the *Hypomnesticon*, at the end of 668 or the beginning of 669. This conclusion concurs with Devreesse's suggestion that what we find in the *Collectanea* is a second edition of the *Commemoratio*, in which the letter from 654 or 655 of "a certain most devout Christian" — i.e. Theodore, according to Devreesse — and an epilogue including Theodore's *obiit* for the pope were added to the earlier documents from Theodore's *Libellus* to produce the single document of the *Narrationes*. This may have been reworked by a third party (93), who gave it the title *Ex libello Theodori Spoudaei S. Sophiae.*

Theodore decided to add, for the encouragement of the orthodox, the works he had collected concerning the other martyrs for the dyothelite cause, as well as his *Hypomnesticon*. It was probably also Theodore who wrote prologues for the *Letter of Anastasius* and the *Hypomnesticon*, and added to Anastasius' *Letter to Theodosius* an *obiit* for the Apocrisiarius, all three of which only survive in Latin. He also added a doxology to the *Disputatio*, which survives in Latin but is missing from all versions of the Greek, except for an altered

(91) This fragment is edited by DEVREESSE, 1928, p. 33.

(92) *PG*, 90, 129, A8-10 ; cf. DEVREESSE, 1955, p. 6, n. 1, where Anastasius' transfer from exile in Trebizond to Mesembria is dated to May 655, relying on the witness of *Vita Recensio III*, and an incorrect dating of the *Relatio Motionis*.

(93) PEETERS does not doubt the authenticity of Martin's four letters, but suggests that they were not written as they appear in Theodore's narrative (*Propylaeum Decembris*, p. 514) : "*Verum indicia multa et rectissime collineata praefracte obstant ne istae litterae credantur eo tempore, ea forma eoque ordine scriptae fuisse, quibus in Theodori libello referuntur. Praeterea ipsius Theodori narrationes, quibus Martini epistulae veluti marginantur, manifeste fictae sunt a latino scriptore sequioris aetatis. Scilicet Anastasius (Bibliothecarius)...laciniosam partem narrationis suo marte refecit atque complevit*". I consider this highly unlikely, and see no indication that the original language of composition was Latin rather than Greek, with the possible exception of the *Unice natus* poem (see n. 71). Anastasius clearly says that he requested someone else to translate this, whose work he then corrected, as I noted above at n. 64.

version in the *Venetus Marcianus graecus* 135 and its derivative, *Monacensis graecus* 10.

Conclusion

Recent editions of the documents pertaining to the lives of Pope Martin and Maximus Confessor have allowed us to pinpoint accurately the date of Maximus' letter to his disciple Anastasius. The letter can no longer be used to date the record of Maximus' first trial in 655. The correct dating of the letter also has implications for the dating of Anastasius' letter to the monks of Cagliari, which must postdate Maximus' letter on the grounds of the doctrinal evolution indicated. The composition of an account of Maximus' dispute with bishop Theodosius closely follows upon the events described of August and September 656. The final two documents, the letter of Anastasius to Theodosius of Gangra, and the *Hypomnesticon* describing the trials and eventual death in exile of Maximus and Martin, as well as those of several of their followers, are closely linked, and were collated by the author of the *Hypomnesticon*, Theodore Spoudaeus, together with the *Testimonia* of Pseudo-Hippolytus and *Syllogismi* of Anastasius Apocrisiarius.

Theodore Spoudaeus is also largely responsible for that part of the *Collectanea* which precedes the six documents, the *Narrationes de exsilio S. Martini.* The four letters of Martin included here date from 654 to 655, but without a secure dating for his death, we cannot ascertain the exact date of the *Commemoratio*, a memorial of his sufferings in exile. Its epilogue seems to have been appended in late 668 or early 669, pointing to a second edition, made by either Theodore himself or an unidentified compiler.

These rectifications of previous suppositions have been made possible solely by the recent editions of texts which improve on those previously available. It is to be hoped that future editions of texts related to the lives of the major protagonists of the monothelite struggle will shed further light on questions relating to this contest between the imperial government of Constantinople and the Roman papacy for the right to define orthodox belief.

Australian Catholic University, Brisbane Bronwen Neil.

THE SOSTHENION NEAR CONSTANTINOPLE : JOHN MALALAS AND ANCIENT ART

In the course of the fourth book of his world chronicle (iv, 13), John Malalas (*ca.* 490s-570s) described the history of the Archangel Michael's shrine at Anaplous near Constantinople (1). The digression took the form of two carefully balanced events. In the first half, Malalas described the Argonauts' voyage up the Bosphorus and their preparations for meeting the forces of the chief Amykos. The Argonauts fled into a sheltered bay, forested and wild, Malalas says, in order to re-group for another encounter. At this place, the Argonauts saw a vision : „some power", „a fearful man with wings on his shoulders, like those of an eagle", came towards them as if from heaven and pronounced their imminent victory over Amykos and his host. After this prophesy is realised, the Argonauts built a temple on that same site and made an image, just as they had seen the power ; finally, they re-named the place and called it the Sosthenion, place of salvation.

The other half of the story — complementary but distinct — began after Constantine the Great has established his capital at Constantinople. As a Christian, Constantine visited the site in order to render safe this pagan sanctuary. At the shrine, Constantine became puzzled over a statue (*ἐκτυπώματι τῆς στήλης*) that he saw there in the form of a monk, „according to the teachings of the Christian faith". Astonished by the place and statue, Constantine offered prayers to know the identity of the statue and slept there. When the name was announced to him in a dream, he awoke immediately and made a prayer to the east and then ordered the sanctuary adorned. Only then did he reveal the statue's identity that had been told him during the night : the statue and shrine belonged to the Archangel Michael and the church, as it now was, was named after that power. Malalas then resumed his narration of the pagan kings.

(1) *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, in CSHB, Bonn 1831, pp. 78, 7 - 79, 9.

This digression has attracted many scholars interested in pagan survivals and the topography of the Bosphorus (2). These scholars have often been concerned with the discernment of 'fact' in this episode of Malalas's composite history. My interest is not different in kind and I want to argue that Malalas has carefully constructed a typology of transmission, on the one hand, from ancient sources such as Apollonius of Rhodes and Pindar, and, on the other, from local legends of Constantine and Michael. As always with Malalas studies, the problem seems to reside in how far one might trust Malalas's text and, to that end, I am also interested in finding traces of fact in Malalas's history ; but, beyond that, I want to seek the reasoning behind his text, what would lead him to make such a digression with such carefully balanced parts. I approach the tales in Malalas, then, as fully intentional and this method has not characterised all analyses of this text ; by giving Malalas the benefit of the doubt, I want to suggest that this tale has real meaning within the ideological framework of the *Chronicle* as a whole and within the broader context of the latter part of the reign of Justinian I (reigned 527-65) (3).

Writing in the 440s, Sozomonos described an active and successful shrine called the Michaelion, also founded by Constantine on the European side of the Bosphorus at a place formerly called Hestiae (*Historia ecclesiastica*, II, iii). Because of a mention of the Sosthenion

(2) A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (*Ποικίλα βυζαντινά*, 8), Bonn 1988, pp. 704ff. and 707ff. ; P. MARAVAL, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1985, p. 407 ; C. MANGO, *St. Michael and Attis*, in *ΔχAE* 12 (1984), pp. 57ff. ; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 333 à 451*, Paris 1974, p. 396 ; R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Premiere partie. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarchat œcuménique*. Tome III. *Les églises et les monastères*, 2d ed., Paris 1969, pp. 338ff., and, also, his *Les sanctuaires byzantins de Saint-Michel (Constantinople et banlieue)*, in *EO* 33 (1934), pp. 37ff. and 43ff. ; and J. PARGOIRE, *Anaple et Sosthène*, in *Izvestija Russkogo Archeologiceskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole* 3 (1898), pp. 60ff.

(3) Recent scholarship has revised approaches to Malalas ; see the remarks of E. M. JEFFRIES on E. HÖRLING, *Mythos und Pistis. Zur Deutung heidnischen Mythen in der christlichen Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas*, Lund 1980 [not available to me], in *Classical Review* 32 (1982), p. 118. See also her *Malalas' Sources*, in *Studies in John Malalas* (Byzantina Australiensia, 6), ed. E. JEFFRIES *et al.*, Sydney 1990, pp. 168ff. ; and, also, A. MOFFAT, *A Record of Public Buildings and Monuments*, in *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 87ff., and R. D. SCOTT, *Malalas' View of the Classical Past*, in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. CLARKE *et al.*, Canberra 1990, pp. 147ff.

in the life of Daniel the Stylite (409-93) (4), two shrines of the Archangel evidently existed on the European side and identification of Hestiae with modern Arnavutköyü and the Sosthenion with Istinye is generally held (5). Although Sozomenos noted Constantine's role in the foundation of the shrine, he did not describe the process of transmission and identification elaborated by Malalas a century later. Apparently, in the interval, the Sosthenion had attracted a Constantinian foundation legend and eventually it superseded the Michaelion and assumed pride of place among Michael's many shrines in and around the capital.

If Malalas's account reveals traces of the politics of healing shrines, its elaboration of the prophetic origin of the sanctuary and its Christian renewal also needs examination to see the nature of its inventiveness (6). Such examinations always come down to how much truth is in Malalas's text : did Michael, in fact, displace a deity and assume its duties at a shrine founded by the Argonauts? The connection between the fearsome man with the wings of an eagle and the Thracian wind god, Boreas, has not gone unnoticed, and some scholars have advanced Boreas's iconography as the model for the power in Malalas's account (7). In vase painting from the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.E., Boreas was often depicted abducting Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, the king of Athens, and he remained a popular subject in Athenian art due to his role in the victory of the Athenians over the Persian fleet (8). He is usually depicted wearing a short tunic, with

(4) See *Les saints stylites*, ed. H. Delehaye, Brussels 1923, p. 14 (13,8-9).

(5) S. Eyice, *Bizans devrinde Boğaziçi*, Istanbul 1976, pp. 26ff. and 35ff.

(6) As Scott, *Malalas' View of the Classical Past*, has pointed out, Malalas radically transformed ancient history and myth primarily because he could not recognise that the past was in any way distinct from the present that he knew. Malalas's view of the past also determined the way in which the story of the Argonauts and Constantine is constructed and re-worked. In general, Malalas compiled material from various sources for his record of the distant past, historians such as Moses, poets and other sages ; for the present, he attempted to be more methodical and accurate. On this difference in approach, see R. D. Scott, *Malalas and Justinian's Codification*, in *Byzantine Papers. Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference. Canberra, 17-19 May 1978* (Byzantina Australiensia, 1), ed. E. and J. Jeffries and A. Moffat, Canberra 1981, pp. 22ff.

(7) E. Maas, *Boreas und Michael*, in *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 13 (1910). pp. 117-122 [Italian summary in *Apulia* (1912), pp. 73-74], and M. Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee*, Milan 1991, p. 126.

(8) Herodotus (*ca.* 490 - *ca.* 420 B.C.E.), vii, 189. On the influence of Herodotus on Malalas, see Jeffries, *Malalas' Sources*, p. 183.

wings on his back or feet, and often with fierce expression and unkempt appearance, like the sculpted relief on the Tower of the Winds in the Roman Agora in Athens from the first century B.C.E (9). Boreas also has connections with the Argonauts, if indirectly, as the soothsayer Phineus married one of Boreas's daughters by Oreithyia ; and his sons, the Boreads, Zêtês and Calaïs, helped rid the soothsayer of the Harpies' persecutions.

Malalas admitted his dependance on Apollonius of Rhodes (third century B.C.E.) for the voyage of Jason and his companions, although it is a remembrance at second- or third-hand (10). The altered account of the engagement with the forces of Amykos shows a purposeful desire on Malalas's part to provide a proper typology to the Christian account rather than preserve a legend of the Argonauts' foundation of the cult of Boreas and its cult image. The revelation witnessed by the Argonauts is more likely a conflation of the winged beings in the *Argonautica*, the Harpies and Boreads, and the prophetic role of the soothsayer Phineus (*Argonautica*, ii, 178ff.) (11).

The news of victory that the winged man bears is difficult to reconcile with the usual duties of Boreas, and the description of the initiation of the Argonauts' voyage narrated by Pindar (518-438 B.C.E.) in his fourth Pythian Ode (180ff.) may also have provided a kernel of misremembering that grew into Malalas's account (12). To my knowledge, no one has adduced this Ode in this connection. In Pindar's account, the sons of Boreas, „with their purple pinions heaving adown their backs" (13), joined the expedition and, immediately following, the soothsayer Mopsos pronounced its propitiousness (14). Winged soothsayers are far from common in ancient art, though the Cista Ficoroni (late fourth century B.C.E., Villa Giulia, Rome) shows a winged

(9) See S. KAEMPF-DIMITRIADOU, *Boreas*, in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 6 vols. in 12 pts. to date, Zurich-Munich 1981-, III, 1 : p. 135 and III, 2 : p. 109.

(10) See JEFFRIES, *Malalas' Sources*, p. 173.

(11) See L. F. A. MAURY, *Du temple appelé Sosthenium qui existait avant Constantin au lieu appelé Hestiae près de Constantinople et de sa conversion en une église consacrée à Saint-Michel*, in *Revue archéologique* 6 (1849), pp. 148-149.

(12) Pindar is not directly mentioned by Malalas, however ; see JEFFRIES, *Malalas' Sources*, p. 189.

(13) Translation by J. SANDYS, *The Odes of Pindar*, London-New York 1915, p. 219.

(14) APOLLONIUS RHODES also mentions Mopsos and his bird divination at i, 1085ff. ; ii, 921ff. ; iii, 540ff. and 938ff.

Mopsos in the presence of the captured Amykos ([15]). Yet, despite the aptness of the victory bearing sooth-sayer, the rarity of this iconography — that is, the general association of wings and prophet — makes Mopsos an unlikely candidate in himself ([16]). Just the same, the text of Pindar provides another sequence of characters and actions that add an equally compelling textual precedent to Malalas's tale.

Within Malalas's text, the figure of the winged power was clearly intended as a creative typology for Michael, a fiction in other words for the purpose of Malalas's narrative and not in the first place as a historical remembrance of cult transmission. The first half of the tale is a textual re-construction, created by Malalas or mediated by sources Malalas used. A version of the Argonauts' vision attracted the Constantinian episode through the superficial resemblance of the Argonauts' winged power to Michael. Seeing the Argnonaut episode as a textual re-construction with no real bearing — or at least one not fully discernible — on the site is the best way to make sense of the description of the image in the Constantinian episode, the unidentifiable monk-like figure. Indeed, treating these two images as separate in fact, but typologically related, makes the best sense of this entire episode and ultimately reveals Malalas's aims.

The indications of the distinct natures of the image of the Argonauts and the image seen by Constantine are in the first place, the incompatibility of the two descriptions, one a fierce, winged being, and the other a Christian monk-like figure ; in the second place, the likeness established by the epiphany of the fierce, winged creature and its image — the Argonauts depicted the creature just as they had seen it — is lost in the Christian complement. The image has changed, in fact it has to be separate, but the change from an image made from life to one with obscure origins and meaning underlines the neat typology of the change from pagan to Christian images. Malalas established

(15) See E. SIMON, *Mopsos I*, in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, VI.1 : p. 650ff. and VI.2 : p. 382. See, for other interpretations, T. DOHRN, *Die Ficoronische Cista in der Villa Giulia in Rom* (Monumenta artis romanae, 11), Berlin 1972, p. 17, pl. 17, and K. NEUSER, *Anemoi. Studien zur Darstellung der Winde und Windgottheiten in der Antike*, Rome 1982, pp. 103ff.

(16) See *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, V.1 : p. 932 and V.2 : p. 601, on the early fourth-century bronze mirror, Museo Gregoriano, Vatican Museums, with the winged Calchas, and J. D. BEAZLEY, *The World of the Etruscan Mirror*, in *JHS* 69 (1949), p. 5, pl. IV.a.

a crucial distinction between the images : despite the likeness, the first image cannot be truly recognised because of pagan ignorance, and the second image that possessed no apparent likeness is perceived through the enlightenment of the Christian faith, aided by the divine provision of identity. The two images are in reality distinct but unified by Malalas's historiographic needs in describing the passage from pagan darkness to Christian daylight ([17]).

By associating the two episodes only in terms of typological relation and not in terms of sequence of cult, the purpose of Malalas is not only better revealed but also the 'fictional' qualities of the Constantinian foundation can be seen more clearly ([18]). The dissociation of the descriptions of the Argonauts' image and the image that puzzled Constantine leads one to look for iconographic parallels that might match the description of a single image "in the schema of a monk, after the Christian custom". The likeliest candidate in both iconography and areas of specialty is the minor deity Telesphorus, portrayed often in Roman art from the second century as the help-mate of Asclepius ([19]).

(17) Malalas seems not to have had any difficulty in accepting this unlikely transmission of images. However, his attitude is not typical of theologians writing on pagan idols and Christian images of angels. For instance, MACARIUS MAGNES (fourth century) and SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (*ca.* 465-538) both eschewed art that was tainted by such pagan associations. For Macarius, see C. BLONDEL, *Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice*, Paris 1876, pp. 200ff. and 214ff. ; and for Severus, see *Les homiliae cathedrales* (PO, VIII.2), ed. M. BRIÈRE, Paris 1919 ; rp. Turnhout, 1971, pp. 71ff.

(18) Looking for an image that had *both* wings and cowl, Cyril MANGO used a statue of Attis, winged and hooded, as a lynchpin for his argument that Attis was the pagan predecessor for the Christianised Michael. (See his *St. Michael and Attis.*) This hypothesis has gained some acceptance ; see, for example, B. MARTIN-HASARD, *Le culte de l'archange Michel dans l'empire byzantin (VIIIe-XIe siècles)*, in *Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. C. CARLETTI and G. OTRANTO, Bari 1994, pp. 351ff., and H. MAGUIRE, *A Murderer among the Angels : The Frontispiece Miniatures of Paris. Gr. 510 and the Iconography of the Archangels in Byzantine Art*, in *The Sacred Image East and West* (Illinois Byzantine Studies, 4), ed. R. OUSTERHOUT and L. BRUBAKER, Urbana-Chicago 1995, pp. 68-69. Therefore, it is important to note that Michael's cult grew out of a very active syncretistic cult of angels and powers in Asia Minor and that only in a few, specific cases can direct transmission of pagan cult be established. My method in this paper depends on disassociating the two images, as I see the first as a textual remembrance and the second as legend but with an element of fact, and possibly a real image, embedded in it ; given Malalas's methods and aims, this procedure seems to me the most prudent way of approaching the passage.

(19) See C. KERÉNYI, *Asklepios. Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence*,

In statue groups, Telesphorus is shown as a subsidiary figure behind Asclepius, or with Asclepius and Hygeia as a family group ; in groups or alone, he always wears a hooded cloak which often covers his hands. He first came to prominence at Pergamon in the second century and then travelled to Epidaurus where Pausanias described the god's assimilation to Askesis ; however, his origins are evidently northern and Thrace may be his native land.

Taking, then, the emperor's visit to this unknown shrine on the Bosphorus and his inability to identify a figure, monk-like and apparently Christian, as a likelihood, perhaps Malalas preserved some remembrance of an event in this part of the account. Drawing on historical parallels, the course of events may have gone something like this : a shrine in disrepair and unused is visited by an emperor, perhaps Constantine, and he sees an image without inscription ; and, because the cult is lapsed, no person is present to guide him as to its identity ([20]). His incubation indicates some traces of a healing shrine is preserved, perhaps just architectural vestiges of chambers or beds, and Michael, dependant on his thaumaturgic abilities from the earliest period of his cult, comes to inhabit the site ([21]).

trans. R. MANNHEIM, New York 1959, pp. 56ff., figs. 52 and 53 ; W. DEONNA, *Télesphore et le 'genius cucullatus celtique'*, in *Latomus* 14 (1955), pp. 43ff., and also his *De Télesphore au 'moine bourru' : Dieux, génies et démons encapuchonnés* (Collection Latomus, 21), Berchem-Brussels 1955, pp. 38ff. ; F. P. FISCHETTI, *Mercurio Mithra Michael. Magio, mito e misteri nella grotta dell'Archangelo*, Bari 1973, pp. 107ff. AELIUS ARISTIDES, writing in the middle of the second century, mentions several occasions in which he saw Telesphorus in a dream ; at the shrine of Asclepius at Pergamon, Telesphorus was honoured as a healer. See xlviii, 10, 18, 27 ; xlix, 15, 21 ; Aelius mentions statues of Telesphorus at l. 16, xlix, 22. - But see MANGO, *St. Michael and Attis*, pp. 60ff., and also K. LÜBECK, *Zur ältesten Verehrung des hl. Michael in Konstantinople*, in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 26 (1905), pp. 773ff., for other views.

(20) On statues without inscriptions, see J. CURRAN, *Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome : Problems of Perspective*, in *Art History* 17 (1994), p. 51. For a statue of Telesphorus without inscription, see, for example, G. FOUGÈRES, *Fouilles de Mantinée*, in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 14 (1890), p. 595, pl. VIII. — The establishment of the shrine at Anaplous may have occurred very early. See LÜBECK, *Zur ältesten Verehrung des hl. Michael*, p. 782 ; DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale*, p. 396, and MANGO, *St. Michael and Attis*, p. 59.

(21) The bibliography on the transition of pagan sanctuaries to Christian churches is large, but many scholars, using archaeological evidence, do not see the transition as clear-cut ; many pagan buildings seem to have endured a period in which they fell into disuse and only later were re-used by Christians. See A. FRANTZ, *From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens*, in *DOP* 19 (1965), pp. 185ff. ;

This scenario might be the likeliest course of events but does not explain the transmission altogether. Like the re-presentation of the Argonauts' revelation, the identification of image and refurbishing of shrine at the Sosthenion recalls and assembles textual precedents to a specific end. The dream of Constantine is the climax of the narrative and it provides coherence to this digression on the Argonauts and Michael's church. After the dream, the image Constantine saw has a history and an identity with the typological fulfillment of the likeness that the Argonauts made but did not realise. Malalas did not explain the discrepancy between the typical iconography of an Archangel and his monk-like figure ([22]). The arrogation of site by the Archangel is sufficient and given angels' traditional mutability such a disguise uncovered by Michael's night time statement is not such a difficult leap for the reader. For instance, two angels appeared as very old monks to Pachomius (*ca.* 290-346) as he was about to board a ferry, according to Palladius (*ca.* 365-425), and the angels are sometimes represented as monks with long robes and hoods ([23]).

J.-M. SPIESER, *La christianisme des sanctuaires païens en Grèce*, in *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtumer. Symposium in Olympia 10.-12. Oktober 1974*, ed. U. JANTZEN, Tübingen 1976, pp. 309ff. ; B. WARD PERKINS, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, A.D. 300-850*, Oxford 1984 ; G. DAGRON, *Constantinople. Les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la ville religieuse*, in *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyons, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21-28 Septembre 1986)*, 3 vols., Vatican City 1989, II, p. 1071 ; M. GREENHALGH, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages*, London, 1989, pp. 11ff. ; H. SARADI MENDELOVICI, *Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries*, in *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 47ff., and J.-M. SANSTERRE, *Apparitions et miracles à Ménouthis : de l'incubation païenne à l'incubation chrétienne*, in *Apparitions et miracles*, ed. A. DIERKINS, Brussels 1991, pp. 69-83. - On the other hand, the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias seems to have been wrested from the pagan segment of the population and, without interruption perhaps, re-dedicated as a church of the Archangel Michael in the fifth or early sixth century. See C. ROUCHÉ, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, London 1989, pp. 153ff., and R. CORMACK, *Byzantine Aphrodisias. Changing the Symbolic Map of the City*, in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 216, n.s. 36 (1990), pp. 32ff. A general refutal of the archaeological conclusion has been put forward recently by F. R. TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., New York-Leiden-Köln, 1995.

(22) W. AMELUNG, *Di statue antiche trasformate in figure di santi*, in *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (1897), p. 71-74, described the physical re-use of antique statuary in Christian cult images in Rome, but such a re-use cannot be advanced in the case of the Sosthenion since no shrine survives.

(23) For the episode of the two angels in the guise of old monks, see *The Bohairic Life of Pachomius*, in *Pachomian Koinonia*. Vol. One : *The Life of Saint Pachomius*

The dream of Constantine also places Malalas's tale within a long tradition of dream validated images. Dreams and images intersect in extremely interesting ways as gods and saints alike take forms that are commensurate to the abilities of the dreamer, often, therefore, assuming their cult guises (24). As Constantine identified an image and began a cult through a dream revelation, so Plutarch (*ca.* 46 - *ca.* 120) and Tacitus (56/7-117) had described the way in which Serapis had been introduced into Egypt by the first Ptolemy (25). In a dream, an unknown figure visited the king saying that his image must be fetched from his native Pontus. Uncertain, Ptolemy asked for guidance from his priests but they only counselled sending to Pontus for the effigy that the god demanded. In the end, with the locals unwilling to let it go, the statue made its own way to Egypt, and the king's dream and the figure's identity were confirmed. This process recalls the episode in the life of Constantine wherein the emperor identifies his night vision of Peter and Paul by means of their images the next day (26). In both these examples, the images possessed some resemblance to their prototypes that is miraculously confirmed. Michael's monk-like image, on the other hand, did not claim likeness, in part because images of formless beings cannot possess likeness. More importantly for the structure of this *ante legem* and *sub gratiam* tale, Michael's obscure

and His Disciples, trans. A. Veilleux, Kalamazoo, Michigan 1980, pp. 129ff. In the *Lausiac History* of Palladius (*ca.* 365-425), an angelic vision is made manifest to Pachomius and delivers the rules for monastic life on a bronze tablet. See PG, 34 : p. 1099C, and F. Halkin, *L'histoire Lausiaque et les Vies grecques de S. Pachôme*, in *AB* 48 (1930), pp. 257ff. This incident is, incidently, described by Sozomenos, III, xiv. In late Byzantine art, Pachomius is sometimes depicted standing before a vision of an angel, identified as the Angel of the Lord or as Gabriel, which is in the habit of a monk. For example, see G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*. I : *Les peintures*, Paris 1927, pl. 193.1, from the Chapel of St. George in the Monastery of Paul, and pl. 240.2, from the Katholikon of the Monastery of Docheiariou.

(24) See, for instance, R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1986, pp. 105ff., and P. Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity. Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*, Princeton 1994, pp. 31ff.

(25) Plutarch, *Moralia*, 'De Iside et Osiride', 361F-362B, and Tacitus, *Historiae*, 4, 83-84. On this episode, see C. Brillante, *Metamorphosi di un'imaggine : Le statue animate e il sogno*, in *Il sogno in grecia*, ed. G. Guidorizzi, Rome-Bari 1988, pp. 18ff.

(26) See A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, *Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art*, in *DOP* 45 (1991), p. 7 ; A. Kazhdan, *'Constantin imaginaire'. Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great*, in *Byz.* 57 (1987), p. 231 ; R. H. Jenkins, *A Cross of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius*, with *An Art-Historical Commentary*, by E. Kitzinger, in *DOP* 21 (1967), pp. 246ff. ; Mango, *St. Michael and Attis*, p. 46.

image is seen as the counterpart of a statue that was made according to a likeness — in Malalas's conception, Christian art redeems itself not through any overt differences from pagan art or through greater skill or closer likeness but through demonstrable proprietorship (27).

The two halves of the tale imply that Michael's newly announced occupation of the shrine — always present but not realised — takes place, of course, under the salvific phase in history, initiated by Christ and expanded under the Christian emperor Constantine. These periods in history are set out in Malalas's narrative and, clearly, they prefigure the larger structure of the work as a whole. Malalas had carefully arranged the structure of his eighteen books with the birth of Christ at the beginning of the tenth book, and this care applies equally to the parts. A key idea that determines selection and presentation of material in his work is the unitary conception of history from a Christian view point ; it marks overtly all of pre-Christian history, pagan and Jewish, and indicates the blindness of this long but only partially enlightened phase in humanity's experience (28). The exchange of images at the Sosthenion was one example of denial of full insight even to the most famous men of the past.

For Malalas, a corollary to this Christian unitary view was an emphasis on the central role of kings and emperors throughout history. And in this case, the emperor Constantine played the lead role in the redemption of the pagan sanctuary at the Sosthenion (29). The dream

(27) On Byzantine attitudes to ancient statuary, see C. MANGO, *Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder*, in *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 53ff. ; G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des 'Patria'*, Paris 1984, pp. 127ff. ; *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century : The 'Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikoi'*, ed. Averil CAMERON and J. HERRIN *et al.*, Leiden 1984 ; SARADI MENDELOVICI, *Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments* ; and, now, C. MANGO, *L'attitude byzantine à l'égard des antiquité gréco-romaines*, in *Byzance et les images*, ed. A. GRILLOU and J. DURAND, Paris 1994, pp. 95-120. On Malalas's attitudes, more broadly, see the study by MOFFAT, *A Record of Public Buildings and Monuments*.

(28) On this general issue, see M. MAAS, *John Lydus and the Roman Past. Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian*, London-New York 1992, and Averil CAMERON, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London 1985. On Malalas's attitudes towards Christianity and the emperor, in particular, see E. JEFFRIES, *The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers towards Ancient History*, in *Byz.* 49 (1979), p. 223ff., and M. KOKOSZKO, *Portret Augusta u Malalasa* [*Historia Bizancjum = Acta Universitatis Lodziensis*], in *Folia Historica* 48 (1993), pp. 61-70 [with English summary].

(29) See R. D. SCOTT, *The Image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes*, in *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries.*

episode prefigured the more famous dream of Constantine and his conversion ; as Malalas stated at the very beginning of his book on the age of Constantine (xiii), the emperor saw the sign in a dream and, on waking, made the image 'just as he had seen it'. Indeed, the episode is structurally similar to the Argonaut tale, except for the greater perception and destiny of the Christian emperor, Constantine. Furthermore, writing in the 550s (*Buildings*, I, viii, 17-20), Procopius mentioned that Justinian paid for repair and construction at Michael's shrine at Anaplous ; it is an interesting coincidence that the shrine had become newly embellished by Justinian shortly before Malalas wrote his account ([30]). The ideological setting can, therefore, be said to have conditioned Malalas's careful typology : in this short account, the emperor Constantine, builder and defender of the faith, full of divine insight, possesses remarkable similarities to his sixth-century heir, as described by both Malalas and Procopius. Malalas did not make explicit a connection but his individual account of images and transmission at the Sosthenion is a microcosm of the aim of the *Chronicle*, that is, to detail a history that is wholly Christian in focus and fully sympathetic to the imperial office.

Kitchener, Ontario. Glenn PEERS.

Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews, March 1992, ed. P. MAGDALINO, Aldershot 1994, p. 60 : „... Constantine's importance for Malalas was in being the first Christian emperor, a bringer of victory and peace and especially as the founder of Constantinople".

(30) An objective of Procopius's description of the building program was to draw out a parallel between Justinian and the munificence of Constantine, as lauded by EUSEBIUS (*ca.* 260 - *ca.* 340) in the *Vita Constantini*. See CAMERON, *Procopius*, pp. 89ff.

PROCOPIUS'S *BUILDINGS* AND JUSTINIAN'S PRIDE (1)

Among the notorious difficulties surrounding Procopius's *œuvre*, the interpretation of the *Buildings* may not seem the greatest. Yet if the *Secret History* appears more problematic, the acceptance of its vitriol as a genuine reflection of Procopius's attitudes makes the flattery of the *Buildings* comparably odd in its turn. A beguiling and authoritative solution to this difficulty has been offered by Averil Cameron (2). I have no intention of arguing against her directly ; but her response to the challenge of the work makes it clear how those with alternative suggestions are going to be forced to proceed. I shall try to demonstrate that the *Buildings* can be read as a judgement on Justinian almost as scathing in its implications as Procopius's more infamous diatribe. Since the work was probably written in A.D. 554, and since by that time Procopius had at least begun the *Secret History* (3), then, unless we wish to believe that the *Buildings* was a work of utterly sycophantic ingratiation, it seems natural to search within it for signs that Procopius had not abandoned pessimism and resentment entirely.

Averil Cameron suggests that "this [the *Buildings*] is a work written with a certain purpose — to appeal to the imperial court". She also wants to avoid supposing that Procopius was on that score "insincere" (4). She refers to what she calls "the standard view of God and emperor which [Procopius] here enunciates", and she thinks that "the emperor's closeness to God", which I shall refer to again, was simply "the reverse of the demonology of the *Secret History*" (5). This is her key point : "the two views" she says, "are complementary". Procopius

(1) A version of this paper was delivered to a seminar in Oxford in 1995 : my thanks to Roger Tomlin for helpful comment, and to the President and Fellows of Wolfson College.

(2) In her *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, Londres, 1985.

(3) CAMERON, chap. 2 *passim* and p. 85. I have accepted the relative dating she defends.

(4) IBID. pp. 90, 88.

(5) IBID. pp. 89, 87.

was deploying a "set of ideas ... simply the inverse of that in the *Secret History*". Her conclusion, therefore, is that the *Buildings* presented an ideal view of what an emperor should be like, whereas the *Secret History*, and indeed the *Wars*, documented a disappointing reality (6).

The resolution is skilful ; but it is not required, if we are allowed to doubt that Procopius wished to offer in the *Buildings* only a glowing and complimentary account. In the famous description of the Hagia Sophia, everything is attributed to Justinian personally — a well-known feature of the work, indeed of the panegyrical *genre*, and not open to contention. Certain phrases, however, are not essential to the customary conceit. Procopius juxtaposes the honour shown by God to the emperor and the intelligence of the emperor himself in recognizing the chances God had given him, 1. 1. 25. Justinian's intelligence — in this instance *ὁ νοῦς* — is often appealed to as a principal agent in his achievements. Later, however, Procopius introduces what becomes a recurrent word, *ἀμηχανία*, 1. 1. 49, about which it is important to be precise : for it does not mean simply that the sight of the church was "bewildering", as the Dewing and Downey translation puts it, but that there did not seem to be any physical explanation for the effect it achieved. Thus the emperor's ingenuity is given greater scope. Neither "skill" (*τέχνη*) nor "human power" (*ἀνθρωπεία δύναμις*) can explain the spell woven by the building, 1. 1. 61. In another passage, 1. 1. 67, where the emperor's intelligence is again brought into play (7), Procopius stresses also, "It was not with money alone that the Emperor built it". It was in this the way, therefore, that Procopius handled the "set of ideas" which Cameron describes, especially "the emperor's closeness to God".

Procopius suggests in other passages how this combination of divine providence and imperial perception resulted in the conquest of nature. In building the churches of Constantinople, many of them on foreshores or promontories, Justinian was "seeking to rival the sea" (*ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος γὰρ τῇ θαλάσσῃ*) 1. 7. 2 — a bold phrase, implying intensity of emotion as well as engineering skill. Referring later to fortifications in the Balkans, 4. 2. 11-12, Procopius shows how the sea was unable to present Justinian with any obstacle. In this case,

(6) Ibid. pp. 88, 112. For the text, I have used *Procopius*, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing in collaboration with Glanville Downey, 7, réimprimé Londres & Cambridge, Mass., 1954, based on the text by J. Haury, Leipzig, 1913.

(7) Here *διάνοια* : not quite subsumed, therefore, under *τέχνη* and *ἀνθρωπεία δύναμις*.

however, the emperor managed "to forestall the most striking union of the most opposite elements" (*τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις διαφανῶς ἐναρμόζεσθαι*), so that nature was "forced to yield to man's skill (*ἀνθρώπων ... τέχνη*) and to bow to his superior power".

The two sets of ideas — shrewd cooperation with God and mastery of the natural world — are brought together in *Buildings*, 5. 6. 19. Discussing Justinian's work in Jerusalem, and specifically the so-called "New Church", Procopius piles up physical references to the inconvenient lie of the land : "The site itself, being inland very far from the sea and walled about on all sides by quite steep hills . . . made it impossible (*ἄπορον*) ... to bring columns from outside". It was now the emperor's turn to admit "the impossibility of the task" (*τῇ του ἔργου ἀμηχανίᾳ*). God revealed, however, "a natural supply of stone ... in the nearby hills", either hidden there for some time or, as Procopius outlandishly suggests, "created at that moment" (*ἢ οὖσάν τε καὶ κρυπτομένην τὰ πρότερα, ἢ νῦν γενομένην*). He adds the reflection :

"Either explanation is credible to those who trace the cause of it to God ; for while we, in estimating all things by the scale of man's power, consider many things to be wholly impossible, for God nothing in the world can be difficult or impossible".

Procopius seems ready here to set Justinian beyond "the scale of man's power". Just a few sections before, 5. 6. 8-11, he seems to express a more moderate opinion : for the builders had been able at an earlier stage to transport "blocks of unusual size" over long distances. That passage also contains, nevertheless, a telling phrase, while describing "a great extension artificially added to the hill [on which the "New Church" was being built] by the Emperor's power" (*τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως μέγεθος ἄλλο ἐπιτεχνησαμένης τῳ λόφῳ*) :

"The stones of this substructure are not of a size such as we are acquainted with, for the builders of this work, in struggling against the nature of the terrain (*πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν*) and labouring to attain a height to match the rocky elevation, had to abandon all familiar methods and resort to practices which were strange and altogether unknown" (*ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως ἀγνῶτα*), 9.

(To the phrase *ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα* we shall return.)

So far, then, we have two sets of vocabulary : one mysterious, the other arrogant. The hidden influence of God is made to support the

self-assured brilliance of the emperor. How was the collaboration supposed to work ? *Buildings*, 2. 3. 1-15 deals with almost miraculous events connected with the improved defences of the Mesopotamian fortress at Dara. Chryses, described as a *μηχανοποιὸς δεξιός*, "a skilful master-builder", was currently absent from Dara, sleeping in Alexandria. In a dream, he worked out how to prevent flood-waters from damaging the city walls. He jotted the plan down and sent it to Justinian. The emperor, meanwhile, had had the same idea, and the local experts, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore the Milesian, were amazed. Chryses himself had thought that his dream "came from God": it was a *θεῖον ... πρᾶγμα*. Justinian, similarly, is presented as the beneficiary of "a divine inspiration" (*θείας ... ἐπινοίας*), and Anthemius and Isidore realize that God worked alongside the emperor — *συνδιαπράσσεται τῷ Βασιλεῖ τούτῳ*. In 5. 3. 10, we read of another project still incomplete, the building of a bridge across the Sakaria. Again, "God coöperates with [Justinian] in all his labours" (*τὰ ἔργα συνειλαμβάνεται ὁ θεὸς ἅπαντα*). One notes the generality of Procopius's reflections. At Dara, God was Justinian's "partner ... in all matters which will benefit the State" (*ἅπαντα ... τὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ξυνοίσοντα*), while here we have *τὰ ἔργα ... ἅπαντα*. In the latter passage, Procopius echoes also 1. 1. 49 : "He has seemed in many cases to be undertaking impossible things" (*τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις ἐγχειρεῖν ἔδοξεν*).

The interweaving of the imperial mind and the divine inspiration, together the persistent and complex vocabularies of mystery and arrogance, make it unclear at times who takes the initiative. In 4. 2. 11 the unresisting sea simply surrendered to "human skill" (*ἀνθρώπων ... τέχνῃ*). In 5. 5. 3 Justinian is again the master of *ἀμήχανα*, and achieves his mastery by the enormous expenditure of money (compare 1. 1. 67 above) and by his intensely applied intelligence, *γνώμῃ προμηθεῖ*. As a result, *οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄπορον γένοιτο* : nothing is beyond human reach. Discussing the New Church in Jerusalem, 5. 6. 16, Procopius asserts quite gaily that "human strength and skill" (*δυνάμει τε ἀνθρωπείᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ*) underpinned Justinian's achievements ; but then he mentions the emperor's piety — *ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐλπίς* — and, using his "collaboration vocabulary", says that Justinian's faith "aided him in his cherished plan" (*ξυνεπιλαμβάνουσα τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦτο*) — with the same word used of God himself in 5. 3. 10, *συνεπιλαμβάνεται*. At this point God begins (perhaps) to create stone ; and Procopius undercuts his earlier confidence, saying that *ἀνθρωπεία δύναμις* is not

a reliable criterion by which to judge what is feasible, while to God, on the other hand, nothing is impossible, *οὔτ' ἄπορον οὔτ' ἀμήχανον.*

There is nothing intrinsically illogical about these juxtapositions ; but Procopius seems not entirely happy with the resulting complexity (or perhaps ambiguity). There are two hesitant asides in passages already examined, 2. 3. 8 and 5. 5. 3. In the first, we have the phrase *ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου*, where Justinian, "out of his own head" (*αὐτογνωμονήσας*), is able to reproduce unknowingly the contents of Chryses's dream. *Ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου* means "unexpected", perhaps even "unimaginable". We came across its equivalent, *ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα*, in 5. 6. 9. It is repeated in extended form in the second hesitation, 5. 5. 3, referring to the expensive widening of the mountain road near Platanôn, where Justinian was "overcoming impossible obstacles" (*νενικηκὼς τὰ ἀμήχανα*), and doing so *ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου. Ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου* has a slightly different sense, implying verbal deceit or sleight of hand, rather than mere illogicality.

Both phrases are common enough in Greek usage ; but I could find only one author that combined them — Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton* (8). The passage could well have lodged in Procopius's erudite memory, and its context, therefore, is not uninteresting : for it concerns a man, Aristogeiton, who displayed "an inherited enmity towards the people" (*πατρικῆς ἔχθρας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον*). Do we have a deliberate recollection here ? Readers of the *Secret History* would have no difficulty in seeing Justinian in Demosthenes's words. Procopius, in formulating his fundamental criticism of the emperor, drew on a rich heritage of political thought, which Demosthenes, among others, represented. There is, in addition, a precise and attractive irony : Aristogeiton is weakened by *ἀπονοία* — not only the opposite of Justinian's intelligence, as lauded in the *Buildings*, but an obvious correlate of his demonic irrationality in the *Secret History*. As for *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ παραλόγου*, there is irony again : the inexplicable contradiction was not inherent in Aristogeiton's genius, but referred rather to the unlikely prospect of his shaking off his shortcomings.

I want to conclude with Procopius's description of the grand mosaic on the inner ceiling of the Chalkê Gate, 1. 10. 16-19. There are many wonderful things about the passage. Not least is the calculated

(8) DEMOSTHENES, *Orationes*, 25. 1. 32, éd. S.H. BUTCHER, 2. 1, Oxford, 1907, [779]-[780].

conjunction of every major element of the State — the army, Justinian and Theodora themselves, the conquered nations of Africa and (slightly prematurely) Italy, and the Constantinopolitan senate. Only the church is absent — whether from the text alone or from the mosaic also, we do not know. At least in Procopius's account, however, "the emphasis in the description is on the emperor and the empress" (9). He concludes with the words, *τῷ βασιλεῖ νέμοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἰσοθέους τιμάς*, "bestowing on the emperor honours equal to God, because of the magnitude of what he had achieved".

It would be useful to know whether it was the mosaic that made the sentiment clear (and, if so, how), or whether the words reflect an interpretative judgement by Procopius himself : for it is tempting to suggest that, from a Christian point of view, the senate's gesture was potentially blasphemous — another demonstration of Justinian's *hubris*. Procopius was, of course, a Christian. Averil Cameron describes the *Buildings* as "more overtly Christian" than the *Wars* (10). *Buildings*, 1. 10 seems to be the only place Procopius uses the word *ἰσόθεος*, which may give it added weight. However, caution is required in interpreting the phrase, which is as old as Homer (11). "Honours equal to those given to the gods by no means necessarily imply worship in cult, or even acceptance of divinity ; and flattery with divine imagery in a poem or a painting is not the same as an acknowledgement that the subject is either temporarily or permanently animated by the divine spark" (12). Procopius may have reached no further in his memory than a line of Menander, perhaps learned in boyhood : "We are under obligation to bestow upon our parents honours equal to God" (*νόμος γονεῦσι ἰσοθέους τιμὰς νέμειν*). His own use of *νέμοντες* makes a

(9) CAMERON, p. 102.

(10) CAMERON, p. 35. EUSEBIUS (to mention an obvious Christian forebear) reports the assertion of Artapanos that pagan priests in Egypt honoured Moses in the same way, calling him "Hermes" *διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἑρμηνείαν* and judging him *ἰσοθέου τιμῆς καταξιωθέντα*, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 9. 27. 6, éd. K. MRAS, dans *Eusebius Werke*, 8, GCS, 43. 1, Berlin, 1954, p. 520. Eusebius might not have expressed himself independently in quite the same terms — Artapanos had been among those eager to make Judaism acceptable to the Hellenistic society of his day — but he happily reported the statement. Artapanos continued his account by mentioning Moses' skill in building works and the construction of aqueducts.

(11) It is used of Odysseus (*Odyssey*, 1. 324), and occurs in the *Iliad* also (2. 565).

(12) A. STEWART, *Faces of Power : Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics*, Berkeley, 1993, p. 95.

reminiscence not unlikely ([13]). Other sources are worth consideration. Polybius, for example, writes of Spaniards who ascribed *ἰσοθέους τιμάς* to a local deity, Aletes, credited with discovering how to mine silver ([14]). The parallel need not have sprung automatically to Procopius's mind. Indeed, there is some dispute as to whether he knew Polybius well. François Paschoud expressed doubt, suggesting that Agathias may show more signs of having been so influenced, while Zosimus is the only clear example of such a debt ([15]). Arnaldo Momigliano, however, thought "it would be surprising if Procopius's ... emphasis on the technical factors in warfare had not been affected by Polybius" ([16]). The passage referred to here, *Historiae*, 10. 10, is of exactly the sort Momigliano may have had in mind, since it describes the capture of Cartagena by Scipio Africanus. Given his own African interests, Procopius could easily have recalled such historical antecedents. Moreover, as he describes Hasdrubal's temporary citadel and the surrounding coasts and mountains, Polybius makes several references to constructions that resist the waves and to skilful adaptation of the landscape, reminiscent of passages in the *Buildings* describing Justinian's achievements on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn ([17]). What appears to be a chance phrase like *ἰσοθέους τιμάς*, therefore, may be the tell-tale outcrop of a deep seam of pregnant recollection.

A last and intriguing example occurs in Aeschylus, *Persians*, 852-866 : "It was a glorious and goodly life under civil government that

(13) MENANDER, *Reliquiae*, 600, éd. A. KOERTE, 2, Leipzig, 1953, p. 193. The line was collected by STOBAEUS, *Eklogai*, 4. 25. 26, éd. Ot. HENSE (1909), p. 623, which is another possible source. For the use of such *monostichoi* in the schoolroom, voir H.-I. MARROU, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trad. G. LAMB, Londres, 1956, pp. 156, 400.

(14) POLYBIUS, *Historiae*, 10. 10. 11, éd. Th. BUETTNER-WOBST, 3, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 69. For Aletes as a human hero subsequently endowed with divinity, voir F. W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 2, Oxford, 1967, pp. 207-210.

(15) F. PASCHOUD, *Influence et échos des conceptions historiographiques de Polybe dans l'Antiquité tardive*, dans *Polybe*, éd. E. GABBA, Fondation Hardt, Entretiens 20, Vandœuvres-Genève, 1974, pp. 306, 343-344. A. CAMERON's chief account of Procopius's literary antecedents concentrates on Thucydides, *Procopius*, pp. 33-46. She emphasizes the vagueness of his other supposed allusions, p. 217.

(16) A. MOMIGLIANO, *Polybius's Reappearance in Western Europe*, in *Polybe*, p. 349.

(17) For example, *Buildings*, 1. 6. 5-8 : 1. 8. 6-14. WALBANK provides a full geographical description, *loc. cit.* It is likely that Polybius himself had eastern Mediterranean parallels in mind : P. PÉDECH, *La méthode historique de Polybe*, Paris, 1964, pp. 567-568.

we enjoyed so long as our aged and all-powerful king, who worked no ill and who loved not war, god-like Darius, ruled the realm. In the first place we showed to the world armies worthy of our fame, and civil institutions, like towers in strength, regulated all the State ; and our return from war brought back our men, unworn and scatheless, to happy homes. And what a number of cities he captured ! — without crossing the stream of Halys or even stirring from his own hearth".

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μεγάλας ἀγαθᾶς τε πο-
λισσονόμου βιοτᾶς ἐπεκύρσαμεν, εὖθ' ὁ γεραιὸς
πανταρκὴς ἀκάκας ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς
ἰσόθεος Δαρεῖος ἄρχε χώρας.

πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιὰς ἀπε-
φαινόμεθ', αἵτε νομίσματα πύργινα πάντ' ἐπέθυνον
νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους ἀπαθεῖς
< > εὖ πράσσοντας ἄγον οἴκους,
ὅσσας θ' εἷλε πόλεις πόρον οὐ διαβὰς Ἅλυς
ποταμοῖο, οὐδ' ἀφ' ἑστίας συθείς ([18]).

I am not equipped to judge how evidently Procopius's language might betray a dependence on Greek drama ; but an appeal to ancient Greek commentary on Persia would have been as natural to him as recollection of the history of Africa. In this particular passage, along with the "trace element" *ἰσόθεος* ("god-like Darius"), we find other interesting echoes of the Chalkê description : for example, *ὅσσας θ' εἷλε πόλεις*, which may be compared with the "many cities ... captured" (*ἁλίσκονται πόλεις παμπληθεῖς*) in *Buildings*, 1. 10. 16. More generally, the Persian chorus is lamenting the destruction wrought by Xerxes, contrasting it with the tranquillity enjoyed under Darius. One thinks of Procopius's general judgement that Justinian brought more destruction on the empire than triumph. The sentiments displayed in Aeschylus are specific enough. Life before disaster at the hands of the Greeks is described as *πολισσονόμος* which could have had, to Procopius's ear, an almost constitutional ring, not totally divorced from Demosthenes's defence of a free and rational State. *Πολίσματα* or *νομίσματα πύργινα* provide a similar emphasis ; and the way in which Darius's

(18) *Aeschyli septem quae supersunt tragoedias*, ed. D. PAGE, Oxford, 1972, pp. 33-34, trad. H. W. SMYTH, *Aeschylus*, 2, repr. Londres & Cambridge, Mass., 1946, pp. 183/185. The phrase *νομίσματα πύργινα πάντ' ἐπέθυνον* is corrupt, and some editions print *πολίσματα*.

military strength brought genuine advantage to his people offers, perhaps, some contrasting comment on Procopius's own ambiguous observation, *ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μὲν πόλεμός τέ ἐστι καὶ μάχη* — "on either side is war and battle". Quite what one might make, on the other hand, of the phrase "without ... even stirring from his own hearth" is another matter. Recalling Darius, it was a compliment ; but hardly one that Justinian would have willingly shared with a Persian, true in his own case though it may also have been. The *bric-à-brac* of Procopius's mind is, of course, beyond our reach ; but one comes away from these comparisons with a strong sense that Justinian would not have come off well, when held in the imagination (while Chosroes was still untamed) beside *ὁ γεραιὸς πανταρκὴς ἀκάκας ἄμαχος βασιλεύς*.

The potential merit of these analyses, it seems to me, rests not on the conclusiveness of each in itself but rather on their accumulative effect, pointing as I think they might to the varied memories which a man of Procopius's learning could harness to the criticism of an emperor he clearly detested. He had been forced to chronicle grim times ; and he affected to achieve in the end a universal view, "for here shall be set down everything that came to pass in every part of the Roman Empire" *Secret History*, 1. 1. The resulting panorama was one of devastation — Vandals in Africa, Goths in Italy, growing disturbance in the Balkans. Justinian's attempts to reverse the empire's fortunes, almost glorious in their early stages, were hobbled by plots and mutinies, by Roman suspicion and Gothic vigour, and culminated in a ruthless parody of initial aspirations. Meanwhile in the East, from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf, he conducted a relentless but indecisive war against Persia, lasting more than thirty years.

All this was visible to Procopius, heightened by earthquake and plague, and horrific almost beyond description. Only with difficulty could he explain it to himself. The dark figure of Justinian came eventually to fill the forefront of his imagination. The emperor's scandalous marriage, his disdain for aristocracy, his heartless diplomacy, ruthless repression, grandiose liberality with the money of the State — all were the hallmarks of the "arch-destroyer of well-established institutions" (*μέγιστος δὴ οὗτος ἦν διαφορεὺς τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων*), *Secret History*, 6. 21. By the end of the reign, the provinces were desolate, the treasury drained. To have been alarmed by the huge scale of both the hopes and the failures of Justinian's reign was not necessarily a sign of grumpy dispossession. It was indeed a tale of disaster ; and

it would be naive to dismiss Procopius or, say, John Lydus as blimpish dinosaurs. Many other anecdotes hint at the justice of their attack on corruption and novelty.

Procopius regarded the Romans of his day as reduced to slavery — a view he shared, by his own account, with a barbarian king. Justinian and Theodora "compelled everybody to dance attendance upon them in most servile fashion" (*δουλοπρεπέστατα*) so that one saw in the court "all the time nothing but servility" (*δουλοπρέπειαν ἐς ἀεὶ ξύμπασαν*) *Secret History*, 30. 30 ; *Wars*, 7. 21. 16. The Goths, by contrast, enjoyed the dignity, self-assurance, and freedom the Romans had lost. God was now on their side.

"It will therefore rest with you to guard your blessings [so spoke the Gothic king] — manifestly by continuing to observe justice (*τὸ δίκαιον*). For if you change your course, God too will instantly change His favour and become hostile to you. For it is not His wont to fight with a race of men or a particular nation (*οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένει οὐδὲ φύσει ἐθνῶν ξυμμαξεῖν εἴωθεν*), but with such as shew the greater honour to justice. And for Him it is no labour to transfer his blessings from one people to the other. For whereas only to refrain from wrong-doing inheres in the will of man, God by His very nature has all things in His power" (*ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν μόνον ἐν γνώμῃ ἐστί, θεῷ δὲ ξύμπαντα ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ πέφυκε κεῖσθαι*) (*Wars*, 7. 21. 8-10).

That loss of advantage, that transfer of blessings, were, in Procopius's eyes, not simply a result of the profligate ineptitude revealed in the *Wars* or of the destructive innovations and hidden intrigues of the *Secret History*, but flowed also from the arrogance of Justinian the "builder". Under so demonic a ruler, the writer of the *Buildings*, no less than the writer of the *Secret History*, felt himself "lucky enough to have survived" *Secret History*, 30. 34.

The University of Auckland Philip ROUSSEAU.

ΛΕΒΙΣΣΟΣ-ΜΑΚΡΗ-ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΗ E S. NICOLA : NOTE DI TOPOGRAFIA LICIA

Una delle costanti nello studio della topografia tardo-antica e altomedievale bizantina è una relativa povertà delle fonti scritte. Strano a dirsi, ma ad una generosa testimonianza monumentale risponde da una parte una epigrafia relativamente scarna, decrescente col progredire dei secoli medievali, e dall'altra una certa noncuranza della cronografia ufficiale su quanto accadeva in provincia, territorio divenuto «lontano» durante il periodo medievale. Per quanto riguarda il territorio di cui qui si intende parlare, la Licia bizantina, un documento di eccezionale importanza storica si impone : la *Vita di S. Nicola di Sion*. Vero che la capitale licia offre un'altra figura di Nicola, quella del presunto vescovo della città, introdotto come contemporaneo di Costantino I e che ha influenzato l'onomastica, anche episcopale, dal V secolo, ma quella di Nicola archimandrita sionita primeggia per l'affidabilità storica delle informazioni che offre. Il *corpus* agiografico su Nicola è stato da tempo edito (1), e la topografia licia, soprattutto per l'alto medioevo, deve alla *Vita* di Nicola archimandrita una buona parte del suo patrimonio topografico.

Di recente un team dell'Università di Osaka ha intrapreso un survey archeologico lungo le coste di Belceğiz Körfezi, a sud di Telmessus, odierna Fethiye, nella Turchia sud-occidentale (2) ; dal pluriannuale

(1) G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, I-II, Leipzig-Berlin 1913-1917 ; cf anche I. Ševčenko - N. Patterson Ševčenko (ed. e trad. a cura di), *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion*, Brookline, Mass. 1984. Utile per la topografia licia, pur se ipotetica su alcuni siti, è C. Foss, *Cities and Villages of Lycia in the Life of Saint Nicholas of Holy Zion*, in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36 (1991), pp. 303-339 ; dello Stesso, *The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age*, in *DOP* 48 (1994), spec. pp. 4-9 per quanto si dirà.

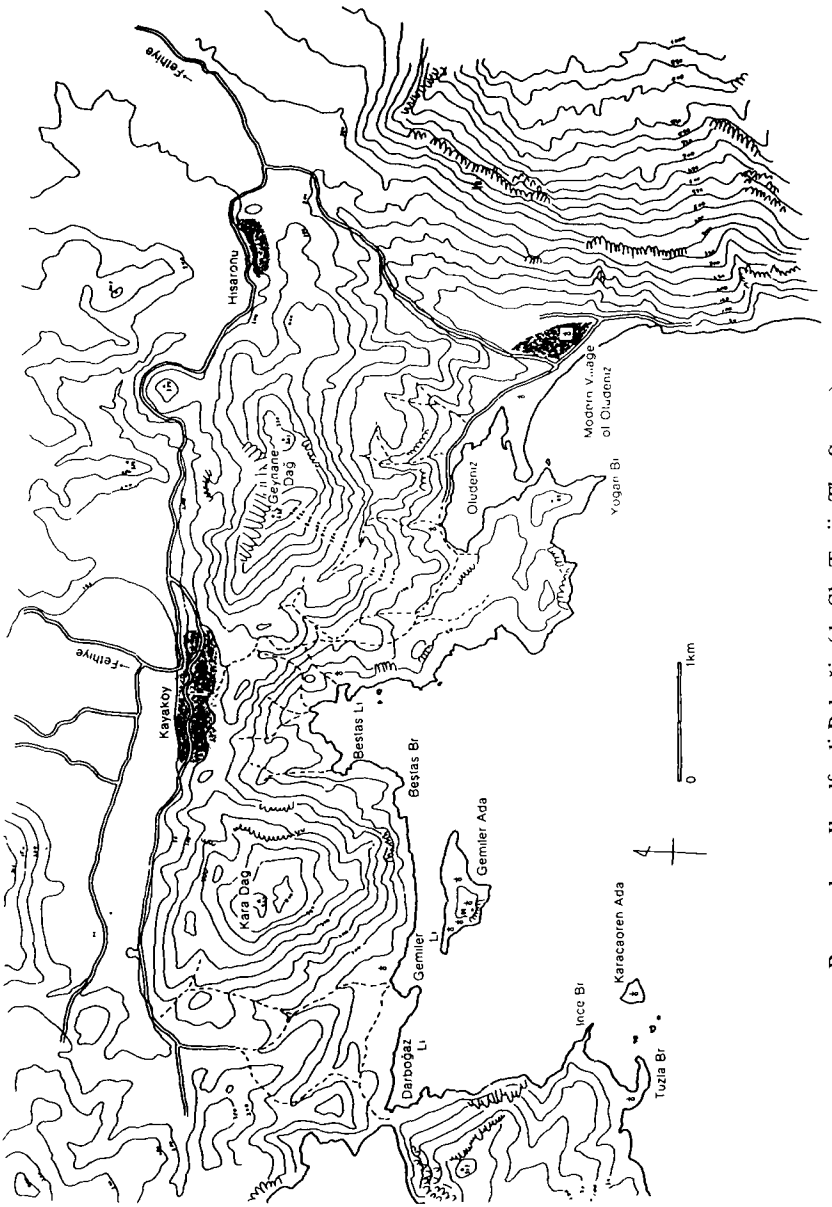
(2) Sh. Tsuji, *The Survey of Early Byzantine Sites in Ölüdeniz Area (Lycia, Turkey)* (Mémoirs of the Faculty of Letters Osaka Univ., XXXV), Osaka, 1995 ; cf ancora K. Asano in *XIII Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara 1995 [1996], pp. 231-241 ; J.-P. Sodini, *Restes byzantines au sud de Fethiye (Makri, Telmessos) en Lycie occidentale*, in *Ευφροσινον, Αφιέρωμα στο Μ. Χατζηδάκη*, Athènes 1992, II, pp. 549-560, resta ottimo per la documentazione topografica ; il breve resoconto di R. S.

lavoro condotto emerge una notevole ricchezza di edifici urbani e rurali sparsi sulle isole e lungo la costa del golfo. Pur se la gran parte della ricchezza documentaria si concentra sul patrimonio ecclesiastico di natura architettonica e pittorica, quest'ultimo di eccezionale bellezza, l'epigrafia riscontrata *in loco* non ha arrecato un valido aiuto alla toponomastica (3). Il problema principale, dunque, che ancora sussiste è soprattutto di carattere topografico : quali erano i nomi dei vari siti sparsi lungo la costa di Belceğiz Körfezi, un golfo che abbraccia la baia di Ölüdeniz, le due isole, quella di Gemile (la più grande) e Karacören, Yarım Adası a terra di fronte a Karacören, Beştaş Limanı e Darboğaz Limanı, questi ultimi due a formare le baie più interne del golfo. Da Fethiye vi è una strada (ca. 15 km) che sale tra il promontorio e l'Anticrago per scendere poi a mare, ad Ölüdeniz (4) (Pianta 1).

CARTER, *A Turkish Exploration by Boat : visiting the Byzantine Site on Gemile Ada*, in *Archaeology* May-June 38 (1985), pp. 16-21 menziona delle monete del tempo di Eraclio su Gemile ada ; T. MASUDA, *Greek Inscriptions in the Ölüdeniz-Gemile Ada Bay Area*, in Sh. TSUJI, *The Survey 113-134*. Utili per quanto si dirà in seguito : V. RUGGIERI, *A Note on Some Epigraphical Evidence in South-West Turkey*, in *OCP* 56 (1990), pp. 491-492 [SEG 40 (1990), 1269] ; ID., *Due complessi termali nel golfo di Macris (Fethiye)*, in *OCP* 57 (1991), pp. 179-198.

(3) La ricostruzione di EYTYX come *Εὐτυχιανὸς ἐλάχιστος ἐπίσκοπος* tentata da T. MASUDA, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 114-115, n. 12, pur rispondendo a requisiti «licii» di sesto secolo per l'onomastica episcopale (si accenna al mecenate vescovo Eutichianus del «tesoro di Kamluca» : cf I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Sion Treasure : the Evidence of the Inscriptions*, in *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth Century Byzantium*, ed. da S. S. BOYD and M. MUNDELL MANGO, Washington, 1992, pp. 53-55 ; *ἐλάχιστος* ricorda l'aggettivo che sembra una caratteristica licia nelle sottoscrizioni episcopali del sinodo del 518 [*ACO* III, 66] è sfortunatamente molto aleatoria. Offriamo un'emendazione all'iscrizione n. 2, p. 126, nella tomba sull'isola di Karacören (vedi Foto 1). Una convincente ricostruzione, data la natura funeraria dell'edificio, è [*ἐγώ εἰμι τ*]*ὸ φῶς* [*τοῦ*] *κ*[*όσμου*], Gv VIII, 12b (= Gv XII, 46 : *ἐγὼ φῶς εἰς τὸν κόσμον*). Ovviamente non si tratta dell'Emmanuele (= *μεθ' ἡμῶν*). La mancanza di *τοῦ* è strana, vista la presenza in tutte le versioni ; Φ e Ω sembrano di VI sec. L'iscrizione fatta con lettere bianche su fondo verdastro corre sotto una banda rossa che inizialmente arrecava un'iscrizione (leggibile ΦΙ) : contigua a questa banda rossa, infatti, sulla parete sud inizia (e non finita) ΑΓΓ (stessa data). Una svista quella di K. Asano (p. 91) nel ritenere 3 angeli sulla parete nord : si tratta della Vergine posta ritta fra due angeli, anch'essi in piedi, un'immagine che ripropone un'iconografia ben nota anche nel patrimonio musivo.

(4) Il tracciato viario attuale segue a tratti quello antico. La prima documentazione a me nota di questa viabilità è offerta da J. VON HAMMER, *Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante*, Wien 1811, p. 115. Del 1842 è questa informazione di T. A. B. SPRATT and E. FORBES, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis*, I, London 1847, p. 23 : «near Simbalo [= Ölüdeniz] all numerous ruins



PIANTA 1. — Il golfo di Belceğiz (da Sh. Tsuji, *The Survey*).

Ciò che si vuole evidenziare in queste note è duplice : assestare, per quanto possibile, una sicura toponomastica, e suggerire, inoltre, delle ipotesi di lavoro (5). Bisogna, comunque, porre una certa precauzione ed attenzione sul fenomeno dello sradicamento della toponomastica antica nella Turchia contemporanea : da anni è invalso l'uso di costruire in modo selvaggio lungo le coste sud-occidentali, un fenomeno che lentamente ed inesorabilmente sradica una forma di passato «nazionale», conservato nella toponimia, uso denunciato anni addietro da L. Robert che giustamente lo paragonava a un bulldozer.

Nell'antichità il golfo di Fethiye (Telmessus) risponde al Glaucus sinus, mentre per Belceğiz non abbiamo un'identica certezza (6) (Pianta 2). Due fonti accennano a due differenti città : Strabone, dopo Telmessus ed il suo promontorio (Telmissis), segue : *ἐφ ᾧ* (Anticrago) *Καρμυλησσός, χωρίον ἐν φάραγγι ᾠκημένον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Κράγος* (7) ; l'altra fonte, lo *Stadiasmus*, è ancora più parca : *ἀπὸ Περδικιῶν εἰς Κισσίδας στάδιοι ν΄. ἀπὸ Κισσίδων ἐπὶ νῆσον Λάγουσαν στάδιοι π΄* (8). Alcuni hanno pensanto, seguendo Strabone, di identificare Carmylessus

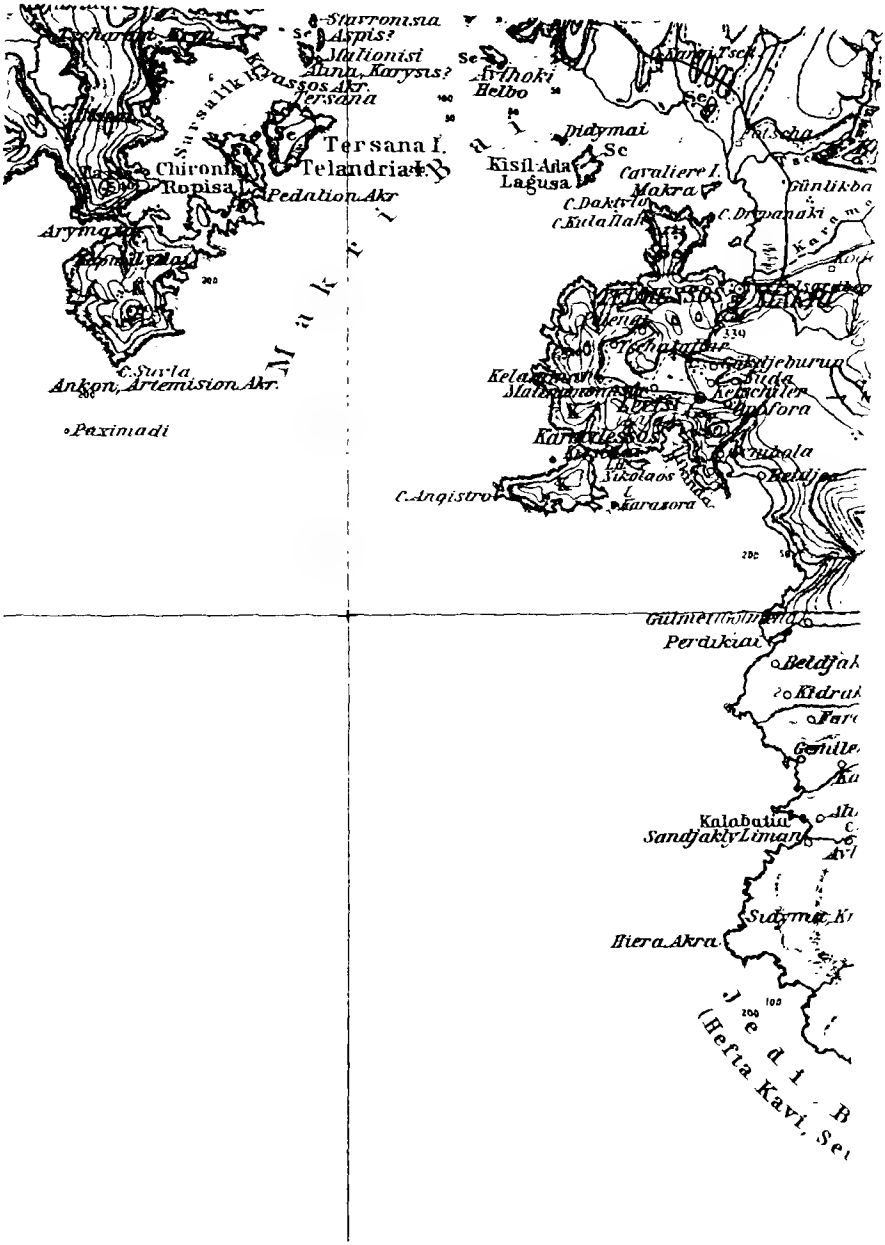
of middle-age or late Roman architecture, crypts, and tombs, which were noticed by Cap. Beaufort. The road here is *an ancient paved road, and many parts of our route along the coast lay over a continuation of the same* [l'italico è mio : gli autori venivano da sud lungo il territorio montagnoso della costa]. From the sea-side we ascended to the elevated plain on which stands the large Greek village of Leveesy, the principal Greek station in Lycia». La carta offerta da H. Kiepert (*Lykia. Erläuterung zur der dem Werke Reisen in Lykien und Karien von O. Benndorf und G. Niemann beigefügten Specialkarte*, Wien 1884, p. 25 del testo per le correzioni al nostro territorio) tien conto di tutti i dati offerti dai viaggiatori. Dal resonto di von Hammer non sembra che vi sia una «strada» che prosegue ulteriormente da Kaya verso ovest, quanto un sentiero-tratturo ; qualcosa del genere è da pensare per il percorso ad ovest di Telmissus lungo la costa.

(5) Dagli scavi iniziati su una chiesa di Gemile non sembra vi siano novità epigrafiche : K. Asano, *Excavation at Ölüdeniz-Gemile Island 1995, Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara 1996 (in stampa).

(6) Patara e Xanthus non entrano in questo golfo : Strabone XIV, III (665) ; Scylax di Caryanda, in *Geogr. Graeci Minores* I, ed. da C. Müller, Paris 1865, 74.

(7) *Ibid.* ; Mela I, 15. Se non erro, Strabone taglia fuori il promontorio ad ovest di Telmessus. Ad una ispezione del territorio, l'unico posto per localizzare la *φάραγξ* di Strabone è la ripida ed alta tagliata che scende a mare verso Ölüdeniz, un taglio che differenzia il promontorio ad ovest dall'inizio del Cragus che scende a sud.

(8) *Geogr. Graeci Minores* I, 494. La direzione che segue lo *Stadiasmus* è sud-nord per entrare nel golfo di Fethiye.



PIANTA 2. - La costa licia occidentale (da Phillipson, 1915).

con Levisus (9) ; altri hanno tenuto conto di Cissidai ed hanno localizzato questo centro su Yarım adası (10). Da quanto si dice, si ha dunque la presenza di queste tre località nell'area del golfo di Belceğiz ; è evidente altresì che Perdikiai (11) si situa leggermente più a sud. La geografia latina non nomina queste due località ; v'è la menzione di Plinio, a proposito di Macris, come isola : *Glaucusque versus amnem*

(9) RUGE, *RE* 10 (1916), c. 1961 ; J. A. CRAMER, *A Geographical and Historical Description of Asia Minor* II, Oxford 1832, p. 245 pone Carmylessus ai piedi dell'Anticagro in una spaccata che si apre a valle ; Ch. FELLOWS, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1852, p. 395 afferma che : «skirting the plain [questo è l'altopiano alle spalle di Fethiye] we passed through Lavisse, and over a hill to the sea-coast, in order to examine the ruins of an ancient city supposed to be Carmylessus, situated principally upon an island and partly along the coast». Se leggo correttamente, Fellows guarda verso ovest, precisamente alla congiuntura di Yarım adası e Karacören, ponendo allora Carmylessus sul mare, spostata da Leviso verso ovest. W. TOMASCHEK, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *Sitzungber. der kais. Ak. der Wissen., ph-hist. Cl.* CXXIV B, Wien 1891, pp. 44-45 è alquanto dubbioso : Levisi oder Qaya-hisâr, *Καρμυλησσός* ? Ch. TEXIER, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882, p. 670 dice che «la ville moderne de Levissi est à quarante kilom. [misurazione esagerata, concedendo anche che egli sia passato per Ovacik, più interna] de Macri [intende l'odiera Fethiye] sur la côte ; ... le cap voisin, appellé aujourd'hui Cavo Angistro, est l'ancient cap Carmylessus [da notare che Strabone non lo chiama *ἄκρον*]. La petite île de San-Nicolo [Karacören], qui appartenait aux Chevaliers, est à l'entrée de la baie de Levissi». A. PHILIPPSON, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, in *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft* B. 183 (1915), p. 93 visitò Leviso, villaggio che aveva assunto già l'attuale nome di Kaya (= Carmylessus).

(10) W. M. LEAKE, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, London 1824, pp. 181-182 (menzionata anche da CRAMER, *op. cit.*, p. 247) pone Cassidai presso Yarım Ada notando le rovine bizantine con accanto l'isola ed il porto dell'isola di S. Nicola (Karacören) : «Cassidai was the name of the peninsular promontory, on the south side of which is the island and harbour of St. Nicholas [si noti che l'Autore sembra stia parlando di Yarım adası e Karacören]. As the ruins upon this cape and island ... indicate a late period of the Roman Empire, it is probably that the town [= Cassidas] did not exist in the time of Strabo». LEAKE, più tardi, andrà a localizzare la *φάραγξ* di Carmylessus con Ovacik ed il suo sbocco a mare con Simbolou (Ölüdeniz) nei suoi *Remarks on Mr. Hoskyn's Paper*, in *Journal of the Royal Georg. Soc. of London* 12 (1842), p. 164. FELLOWS (*op. cit.*, 394) identifica Cassidai con Leviso. Per Cassidai, *cfr. RE* 11/1 (1922), 521. Lagusa è Kızıl Adası, nel golfo di Fethiye . cfr. H. KIEPERT, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, Berlin 1894, p. 8, e la *Admiralty Chart*, no. 1886, an. 1840 1871.

(11) G. BEAN, *Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus*, in *JHSt.* 73 (1953), p. 22, n. 5 ; revisione di L. ROBERT in *Bull. Epigr.* 67 (1954), pp. 169-229. Robert, inoltre, identifica Perdikiai, che appartiene a Pinara, con Faralya, odierna Uzunyurt : *Documents d'Asie Mineure Méridionale. Inscriptions, Monnaies et Géographie*, Gèneve-Paris 1966, p. 16. Il villaggio è situato all'interno, su una sella montagnosa che scende a mare ; a riva non si notano tracce di scalo o di approdo (oggi sullo scosceso della costa ove il villaggio si trova sparuti frammenti marmorei classici sono visibili).

Lagussa, Macris ([12]). Nel quarto secolo d.C., con l'inclusione di Caunus, la Licia diventa provincia bizantina e le piccole città ritengono, un pò come nell'antichità, una loro individualità nella vita amministrativa e civile ([13]).

Comunque si sia organizzato il territorio nel primo periodo bizantino, la sola Termessus appare citata come sede episcopale nell'*epistula 218* di Basilio (il vescovo era Ilario) ([14]) : essa è localizzata con certezza, e con essa l'isola di Makri (*Μάκρη - Μάκρα* [*Μάκαρα*]), legata alla città nella sottoscrizione episcopale di Zenodotos ([15]). Mentre scompare la menzione dei siti classici (Carmylessus e Cissidai), due città, evocate da fonti medievali, sembrano ipoteticamente affacciarsi sul golfo di Belceğiz : Levisus e Markiani (*Μαρκιανή*). Ambedue sono di fondazione bizantina e compaiono nelle stesse *Notitiae Episcopatuum* :

Levisus I, 272 ; II, 336 ; III, 386 ; IV, 291 ; VII, 360 ; IX, 242 ; X, 291 ; XIII, 295.

Markiani I, 265 ; II, 327 ; III, 377 ; IV, 282 ; VII, 338 ; IX, 220 ; X, 269 ; XIII, 272 ([16]).

(12) *H.N.* V, XXXV, 131 ; STEPHANUS BYZ., *s.v.* (in app. *Μάκαρα*).

(13) *Cfr.* MALALAS, 364 ; D. DEETERS, *RE* XIII (1927), col. 2270-2282 ; A. H. M. JONES, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Amsterdam, 1983², pp. 108-109.

(14) *Saint Basil, The Letters*, ed. da R. J. DEFERRARI, III, Cambridge-London 1962, p. 268. Nulla sappiamo sul come le *χώραι - κώμαι* di questo territorio furono divise e amministrate : cf A.-V. SCHWEYER, *Essai de définition du χώραι de Telmessos et de Myra*, in *Akten des II. Int. Lykien-Symposions*, a cura di J. BORCHHARDT und J. DOBESCH, Österr. Ak. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, Denk., 235 B. Ergänz. zu den TAM, n. 18, II, Wien 1993, pp. 39-41 ; G. DAGRON, *Entre village et cité : la bourgade rurale des IVe-VIIe siècles en Orient*, in *Koinônia* 3 (1979), pp. 29-52. Perdikia, che incontreremo, è una *χώρα* oltre che *λιμήν* della Licia in Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Si noti, inoltre, come la *κώμη Μάσταυρα* diventi in seguito il primo episcopato nella lista licia delle *Notitiae Episc.* : E. HONIGMANN, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'Opuscule géographique de George de Chypre*, Bruxelles 1939, ad 685.6.

(15) La firma del vescovo Zenodotos a Calcedonia è la seguente : *ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Τελμισσέων (μετρο)πόλεως καὶ Μακρᾶς τῆς νῆσου* : E. HONIGMANN, *The original lists of the members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber-Synod and the Council of Chalcedon*, in *Byz.* 16 (1942-43, pp. 55 e 276 ; ovviamente è da leggere *πόλεως* in quanto Myra ha ritenuto il privilegio di sede metropolitana sin dalla fondazione della provincia. Da notare il legame fra Telmessus e Macris (l'isola) che avrà una sua particolare evoluzione. Cf V. RUGGIERI, *Due complessi termali*, pp. 180-181.

(16) J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Paris 1981, *s.v.* ; G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, I. *Patriacatus Constantinopolitanus*, I , Padova 1988, *s.v.* (incompleto).

Di Markiani, di cui si dirà in seguito, sappiamo con certezza che era una *πόλις*, e che un suo vescovo, Marcianus, prese parte al sinodo del 518. Era sconosciuta a Hierokles, come lo è a noi, e d'essa, se non erro, non ci è pervenuta alcuna iscrizione ([17]). Levisus ([18]), il cui nome restava fino all'inizio di questo secolo e su cui torneremo, è anch'esso *de se* non identificato da iscrizioni ([19]). Ben poco sappiamo del nostro territorio nel periodo medioevale : certamente le scorribande arabe del tardo settimo ed ottavo secolo toccarono il nostro golfo. Quando Myra soffrì terribilmente nella devastazione del 1034 causata dagli Arabi ([20]), forse anche il nostro territorio risentì di questo evento ; per certo si può ritenere che verso il 1300 tutta l'Asia Minore era in mano turca ([21]).

(17) *Acta Conciliorum Oecum.* III, 66, (24) ; Marcianus sottoscrisse anche la *ep. 234*, del 5.IX.520 : *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum..Avellana quae dicitur Collectio*, ed. da O. GUENTHER, *CSEL* 35, II, Vindobonae 1898, 714 (23). Da rivedere V. SCHULTZE, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften*. II. *Kleinasien*, Gütersloh 1926, p. 209 : «örtlich nicht zu erfassen ist. Die byzantinischen Listen setzen es in der Umgebung von Rhodianopolis an. Bischöfe : Januarios 448 [ma *Mansi* VI, 751 legge *Januarius ep. civitatis Macrianae* senza il testo greco], Augustinos 459 [*Mansi* VII, 920 C legge A. *ἐπ. Νέας Μαρκιανῆς*, ripreso da FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* I, 232 senza Neas, rifacendosi a GRUMEL, *Regestes*, n. 143 : non ci sono vescovi lici nella lista, né la metropoli, a parte la *lectio* che induce a guardare altrove], Martianos 578 [ovviamento il nostro Marcianus del 518]».

(18) Nelle seguenti lezioni : *Λεβισ(σ)ός*, *Λέμησος*, *Ἐλεβισσός*, *Λευισσός*, *Λύβισσος* (nel 1316 come *Λιβίσιος*), *Λεβίσιος* (in DEI ATTI, vedi dopo) ; cf anche L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1984, p. 337.

(19) E. KALINKA, *TAM* II/1, p. 36 : Levissi (Carmylessus ?) ... *ex eodem nomine* (*Καρμωλησσὸς*) *neglecta syllaba prima, quippe quae remotissima esset ab accentu, et mutatis locis labialis et liquidae ortam esse formam Λεβισσός quae primum apparet in Basilii Notitia 310 quis audeat adfirmare*. Una procedura analoga è invocata da un Anonimo Licio : *Τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο εἶναι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μένει τοιοῦτον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῆς Τουρκικῆς διοικήσεως* (*Καργὲι Λειβὶς*) *καὶ ἐὰν μὴ εἶναι παρηγμένον ἐκ διχοτομήσεως τῆς λέξεως Καρμυλισσὸς καὶ μεταβολῆς εἰς Καργέ-μιλίς-λειβίς, πιθανώτατα ἐσχιμάτισται ἐκ τῆς θέσεως Λείβηθρον, Λειβάσιον καὶ Λειβήσιον ἢ Λιβήσιον* (*Περὶ Λυκίας καὶ Λυκίων. Περὶ Μακρῆς καὶ Λειβισίου*, in *Ξενοφάνης* 1 [1904], p. 90). Ovviamente dubbioso resta Kalinka ancora a proposito di Idebessus (*TAM* II 3, p. 302), per una possibile somiglianza con Levisus.

(20) SKYLITZES (ed. da J. THURN), *CFHB* V, 396-397 ; CEDRENUS (ed. Bonn) II, 511-512 ; ZONARAS (ed. Bonn) III, 589. Cf H. HELLENKEMPER, *Lykien und die Araber*, in *Akten des II. Inter. Lykien-Symposions* I, pp. 99-106.

(21) P. WITTEK, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.-15. Jh.* (Ist. Mitt., 2), Istanbul 1934, pp. 1-2 (il golfo di Makri era il confine meridionale bizantino), pp. 45 e ss. ; Sp. VRYONIS, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkely-Los Angeles-London 1971, pp. 131-132. Significativo, anche per quanto si dirà in seguito a proposito dei mercanti baresi, è un'indicazione di rotta

Nel XIV secolo abbiamo una informazione di notevole interesse. Da un ordine sinodale (*συνοδικὴ παρακώλευσις*) emesso dal patriarca Giovanni XII Glycas ed il suo sinodo nel Maggio 1316 ([22]) abbiamo la seguente dicitura : *ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Μάκρης καὶ Λιβυσίου*. Il contenuto dell'atto sinodale riguarda il comportamento non canonico del presule di Macri e Leviso, il quale, salito una volta nella capitale, sembrò inaccettabile canonicamente agli imperatori. In conseguenza di ciò, il patriarca col sinodo dimettono lo sconosciuto vescovo dal suo incarico e sede, richiedendo dal metropolita di Myra di eleggerne un altro che sia più degno. Resta peculiare per noi la unificazione della sede di Macri, che già da tempo aveva preso il posto di Telmessus, con quella di Leviso.

Le fonti tardo-medievali, appartenenti al mondo della navigazione, sono in genere più concordi nella terminologia. A questa concordia, comunque, si aggiungono delle novità terminologiche : porre quest'ultime sulla linea costiera da seguire non trova una facile soluzione. Vale la pena ricordare ancora come i testi tardivi usano una terminologia che suona all'antica, ma la cui entità differisce di molto dal senso originario. Quando incontriamo *portus* o *λιμήν* lungo il nostro territorio, essi sono certamente da leggersi come scalo (*statio*). ([23]) M. Sanuto offre la seguente informazione nell'anno 1321 :

lasciataci dalle *Gesta regis Riccardi* : *mons ualde excelsus, qui caput dicitur Turkiae, quia ii qui ueniunt de Apulia, et cursum suum in illa parte maris tenent, et appropinquant Turkiae, primo uident montem illum qui dicitur caput Turkiae. Estque diuisa inter terram imperatoris Constantinopolis et terram Soldani de Yconio : et exinde incipit Rumania quae dicitur Graecia* : in P. GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *Carte marine et Portulan au XIIe siècle. Le Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)* (Coll. de l'École Franç. de Rome, 203), Roma 1995, p. 199.

(22) H. HUNGER und O. KRESTEN (ed. da), *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Wien 1981, no. 40 ; J. DARROUZÈS, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriachat de Constantinople. 1/5 Les Actes des Patriarches*, Paris 1977, no. 2069. La sede episcopale di Leviso viene ancora menzionata nel 1644 : cf. SODINI, *Restes byzantines*, p. 557. Questo territorio apparteneva nel secolo scorso al Vicariato apostolico dell'Asia Minore : *Carte ecclésiastique de l'Empire ottoman et les Échelles du Levant. Mission latines et diocèses indigènes*, Paris 1893.

(23) Ulpiano (*D.L.* 16, 59) ricordava : *portus appellatus est conclusus locus quo importantur merces et inde exportantur ; eaque nihilominus statio est conclusus atque munita, inde aniportum dictum est.* Cf J. ROUGÉ, *Ports et escales dans l'Empir tardif*, in *La Navigazione mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo, XXV Sett. di Studi, Spoleto 1977*, I, Spoleto 1978, spec. pp. 70 e ss. ; H. AHRWEILER, *Les ports byzantins (VIIe-IXe siècles)*, *ibid.*, pp. 259-283.

De Megradico [sub Patara] ad Perdichias milliaria sunt triginta, bonum habet portum, et aquam copiosam ; nec dubitatur ex parte terrae. A Perdichiis ad S. Nicholaum de Leuixo, milliaria sunt quattuor : bonum portum retinet aquamque affluenter ; nec dubitatur ex parte [terrae]. De S. Nicholao de Leuixo ad caput Trachili, sunt milliaria quinque : bonumque habet portum, aquam in habundantia in Insula Cisternarum (24) *; nec dubitatur ex parte terrae. A trachilo usque ad portum terrae de Macre, milliaria sunt XV...* (25).

Capo Trachili è Capo Angistro (Ilbiz burnu), ma a quest'altezza non v'è porto ; un ancoraggio e porto sicuro si trova fra Yarım adası e Karacören, cioè ad ovest del promontorio, dove la terra ferma [*bonumque ... portum*] crea un'ampia riparata baia con l'isola di Karacören [*Insula Cisternarum*]. Inoltre, Sanuto suggerisce che l'isola di Gemile sia S. Nicola di *Leuixo*, che da parte sua possiede un buon porto (dalla parte di terra). *Perdichia*, secondo la rotta sud-nord lungo la costa di Sanuto, è la prima stazione nel golfo, e possiede un buon porto con abbondanza di acqua. Se così è, *Perdichia* di Sanuto è da identificarsi con *Simbolou*-Ölüdeniz che rappresenta la prima grande insenatura, di sicuro ancoraggio, all'imbocco orientale del golfo di Belceğiz. Perdichia, l'abbiamo notato, è citata da Stefano di Bisanzio e dallo *Stadiasmus* (su di essa ritorneremo). Quest'ultimo dice che da Patara a Perdichia vi sono 280 *stadia*, e che da Perdichia a Cassidai ancora 50. Con Cassidai lo *Stadiasmus* supera il golfo di Belceğiz ed entra in quello di Macri (26).

(24) W. TOMASCHEK, *op. cit.*, p. 44 legge : aquam in habuntantia cisternarum in (pen)insula ; interpretando giustamente la strozzatura del collo di *Capo Agistro* [Ilbiz burnu], è indotto a leggere *peninsula*. Credo che sia tuttavia da ritenere *Insula Cisternarum* e leggere, come d'altronde il testo suggerisce, il caput Trachili come il tutto per la parte.

(25) M. SANUTO, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae*, Hanoviae 1611, l. II, pars IV, cap. XXVI, p. 90 ; K. KRETSCHMER, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1909, pp. 245-246.

(26) *Geographi Graeci Min.* pp. 493-494. KIEPERT, *Lykia*, p. 25 situa le località come segue : Karmylessus a Lavisi (= Kaya) ; Kissidai a Bestaş Limanı ; Symbola a Ölüdeniz ; C. Angistro alla punta del promontorio ad ovest. La distanza fra Symbola e Patara risulta di 26,5 miglia. Per offrire delle referenze metriche, si può leggere quanto segue : nello *Stadiasmus* la distanza Patara-Perdichia (280 stadia) copre 49,7 km (= 29 miglia) usando lo stadio attico (177,6 m) ; in Sanudo, la stessa distanza (sebbene sia sub Patara) è coperta da 30 miglia. Da Perdichia a Cassidai (via diretta) vi sono 50 stadia (ca. 5 miglia) nello *Stadiasmus* ; in Sanudo (via indiretta : Perdichia - S. Nicolao - caput Trachili) 9 miglia. La lieve oscillazione nelle misure è dovuta alla difficoltà di identificare esattamente il miglio in Sanuto (come accadrà anche nei

Segue poi una serie di testi appartenenti alla ben nota traslazione delle reliquie di S. Nicola. Conviene, prima di leggere qualche testo, richiamare un presupposto. I naviganti erano mercanti, e lo scopo del loro viaggio era ovviamente commeriale ; questo tipo di traversata, inoltre, imponeva loro di fare determinate rotte per attenersi agli scali commerciali conosciuti. In aggiunta, per il tipo di imbarcazione utilizzata la rotta da seguire richiedeva una buona conoscenza dei fondali o, almeno, un prudente distanziarsi dalle secche o canali onde evitare gravi problemi dovuti ai forti venti, di casa su quella rotta e costa. Una navigazione identica a quella di Sanuto si trova nella tradizione greca della *Translatio Barim* del corpo di S. Nicola. I naviganti fanno vela verso nord (Patara) ; di qui

> *ἐνδυναμούμενοι ὑπὲρ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἐν εἴκοσι τέσσαρσι μιλίοις* (27), *καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πλεῖν, ἀτονίᾳ μεγάλῃ συνόντες, ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἀπέπλευσαν Περδικέας. ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν* (28) *δὲ κατελθόντες ... Μετὰ δὲ τὸ γενέσθαι τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων ... τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καταλείποντες, μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ αὔρας ἡδίστης ἀπέπλευσαν μέχρι τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ λιμένος. διαπεράσαντες τοίνυν τὸν Τραχέα κόλπον...* (29).

Portulani che seguiranno). Si noti che una quasi identica misura si ha se Sanuto si misura con lo stadio alessandrino (184,85 m), oppure col miglio inglese di 8 furlongs (= 48,279 km). Lievi differenze si notano anche nelle distanze date in Daniil Egumeno, *Itinerario in Terra Santa*, a cura di M. GARZANITI, Roma 1991, 79 ; «da Macri fino alla città di Patara ci sono 40 verste». Per una versta dalla misura di km 1, 06678, avremmo km 42,6712, cioè circa 28 miglia.

(27) Il *Gandav. lat.* 289 (fine XII sec.) riporta i 24 «*milliaria*» *ad insulam quae dicitur Machra* : AB 4 (1885), p. 183.

(28) Comunque si voglia tradurre *αἰγιαλός*, la costa a mare del villaggio di Faralya (Uzunyurt), qualora si accetti l'ipotesi di identificazione di Robert (*cf.* n. 11), non offre ancoraggio. Non è questa la sede per dilungarsi ulteriormente sulla toponomastica a sud del nostro golfo ; altrove si presenteranno i risultati di un survey in corso a proposito di questo tratto costiero che entra nel territorio di Sidyma.

(29) G. ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I, 442, 17-19. La traduzione di Anrich (in nota) di 35 km da Patara è fondata su un miglio di 1,458 km ; in questo modo l'Autore situa Perdichia a sud del golfo di Belceğiz, in disaccordo con lo *Stadiasmus* e Sanuto. Nel *Vat. gr.* 5074 (XII sec.) si legge quanto segue : *caccavus* (= *Kekova*) ... *locum maiestram* (= Magistra, Meis) *usque ad pateram civitatem... Sed cogentes se supra modum suarum virtutum, quasi ad vigìnti quatuor miliaria et non valentes procedere ultra, inviti suum declinant iter in locum qui dicitur perdikca defectis viribus. Qui discendentes ad litus videbant mare quietum ventum cupitum...venerunt in locum qui markiano vocatur. Deinde cum preterissent culfum trache, accidit ut...* in F. NITTI, *La traslazione delle reliquie di San Nicola*, in *Iapigia*, n.s. VIII (1937), pp. 344-345.

Anche se le distanze sembrano divergere, la navigazione tocca sempre gli stessi siti : fermata nel porto (con possibilità di discesa) di Perdichia e rotta nord-ovest. Quanto v'è di sostanzialmente nuovo in questa tradizione è l'apparizione di *Μαρκιανοῦ λίμενος* che rammenta la città di *Μαρκιανὴ* notata in antecedenza. ([30]) La rotta seguita in un'altra versione latina ha un tenore leggermente differente : dopo Cacavus (*Κάκκαβος*) per una fermata notturna,

> *et retractis anchoris progredientes, transierunt insulam, nomine magestram, et objicientes se illis Aquilone inter ipsius altissimi pelagi pericula maxima difficultate victi applicuerunt ad Patheram civitatem [scalo tecnico] ... nautis certantibus sese in altum quasi ad viginti quatuor milliaria retorserunt, et cum nimis fatigatione ad insulam quae dicitur Machra applicuerunt* ([31]) *... Deinde cum praeterirent Culphum, castrum Trachiae, quidam eorum, Desinatus nomine ...* [qui un sogno] *... igitur jam securiores agendae navigationis et laxati sinibus pelagus ingressi, de Cerasana insula panem et aquam dulcem tulerunt sibi, et biduo navigantes venerunt ad insulam nomine Milium* ([32]).

Francamente ritengo che questo testo del *Gundav. lat.* 289 proponga le lezioni corrette : esse non solo rinnovellano le antiche, ma offre una sensata direzione di rotta. Se riteniamo *Μαρκιανὸς* (come sito all'interno di Belceğiz Körfezi) invece di Machra, dobbiamo supporre che i naviganti, con rotta ovest-nord-ovest verso Milo, debbano far vela due volte verso est per finalmente rifornirsi. Machra ha invece senso non solo perchè Strabone lo indicava già come *κόλπος εὐλίμενος* (XIV, 651), e al tempo della *Translatio* restava ancora un porto commerciale

(30) Il dotto commento di L. ROBERT, in *Hellenica* X (1955), pp. 200-201, n. 5 si chiude senza un'identificazione dei siti citati nella *Translatio*, a parte la giusta intuizione di Tersane ada con *νήσου Τζερασάνου*.

(31) Il testo lascia intendere una media di ca. 25 miglia quotidiane, e che questa meta fosse il piano di navigazione (50 miglia sarà, secondo lo stesso racconto, la distanza persorsa in due giorni). Cf le misure indicative in miglia giornaliere in Abr. L. UDOVITCH, *Time, the Sea and Society : Duration of Commercial Voyages on the Southern Shores of the Mediterranea during the High Middle Ages*, in *La Navigazione Mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo* II, spec. pp. 508-514. Lo scalo tecnico cambia nel *Vat. lat.* 477 (fine XII sec.) che, tuttavia, conserva *ad loca ubi Macri dicitur* quale fermata del giorno successivo : cf NITTI, p. 363.

(32) *De translatione S. Nicolai*, in *AB* 4 (1885), pp. 183-184 ; G. ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos* II, pp. 535-536. Il castrum indicherebbe (?) forse le fortificazioni sull'isola : FOSS, *Lycian Coasts*, p. 5.

considerevole (33), ma anche perchè segue il corso naturale della navigazione : la sosta, forse voluta per ragioni commerciali, la partenza verso l'alto pelagus con sosta a Tersane. Una conferma per via obliqua si ricava anche da indicazioni marittime sostenuti da testi quasi coevi. Il *Liber de existencia riveriarum*, da una parte, e il *Compasso* dall'altra, propongono quanto segue :

> 1 — [da Patara, rotta da sud] *Vsque ad portum Pertichee habentem insulam ante se computantur ml. .vi.* [è evidente che qui siamo nel golfo di Belceğiz, e l'isola è quella che sarà chiamata di *san nichola*]. *Inde sinus Macri uoluitur in fundo habens ciuitatem. In capite sinus est portus Marchiano, coram habens insulam* [qui siamo nel Glausus sinus al cui apice v'è la città con la sua isola] (34) ;
>
> 2 — [la rotta da nord] De Pontale a lo golfo de Macri x millara entre greco e levante. De lo dicto golfo de Macri entro all'isola de Perdige [ritorna questa isola con altro nome che ritroveremo dopo] viii millara per garbino. De la dicta isola de Perdige entro a Sette-capi xii millara per sirocco, zoè a ssavere a la Patera che so el lo dicto golfo (35).

Da tutte queste indicazioni propendo, dunque, a non ritenere la *πόλις Μαρκιανή* come sita all'interno del golfo di Belceğiz ; la sua locazione resta ancora sconosciuta. Un'ulteriore evidenza della navigazione lungo queste coste è offerta da Uzzano e dai portulani. Antonio da Uzzano (anno 1442), venendo da nord, dice :

> Da Pantalea [a] Macri, che è in golfo, 10 miglia intra greco, e Levante. Macri è golfo à buono porto, e di qui all'Isola della Sperdis (= Sperdichias) a Serecap (= Settecapi) à 12 miglia per scilocco. Da Serecap a Santo Nicola della Patera [...] (36) ; Patera è golfo... (37)

Nel portulano Rizo (fine XV sec.), si legge quanto segue :

> da macri a leuiso quarta de garbin ver ostro mia 20 Leuisi si e bon porto e sia 1 intrada da uer ostro. da leuisi a san nichola zoe al ixole

(33) Ho discusso questo in *Due complessi termali*, pp. 183-186.

(34) P. GAUTIER DOLCHÉ, *Carte marine et Portulan au XIIe siècle*, p. 133.

(35) B. R. MOTZO, *Il Compasso da Navigare. Opera italiana della metà del secolo XIII*, in *Annali della Fac. di Lettere e Filosofia della Univ. di Cagliari* VIII, Cagliari 1947, p. 57.

(36) Lacuna nel testo stampato.

(37) Giovanni di Antonio DA UZZANO, *Compasso* (nel 1442), in PAGNINI DAL VENTURA, *Della Decima di Firenze e delle altre gravezze...* IV, Lisbona-Lucca 1766, p. 233.

de pernixe quarta de ostro ver sirocho mia 10 ([38]). lo colfo de pernixe entra circha mia 10 ([39]).

Certamente alla fine del XV secolo Belceğiz Körfezi si chiamava il golfo di Perdichia. Perdichia, inoltre, era in Sanuto la prima stazione ad est, a terra, nel golfo (Simbolon-Ölüdeniz), chiamata più tardi (il porto di) Leuiso. Un «anonimo licio» dell'inizio di questo secolo elenca una topografia «urbana» della Licia antica con riscontri su siti, a suo tempo abitati. Egli ritiene che *Καρμυλησσὸς* possa essere l'attuale *Λειβήσιον*, [cioè Kaya] e che «Perdikia è disabitata, ha un porto ad oriente di Leviso, e che conserva rovine di una chiesa che è chiamata dai Levisani Panagia di Perdikia ; è abitata da ortolani di Leviso, ed il porto si chiama Symbolon, ed il villaggio Belceğiz (*Πελτξεγίζ*)» ([40]). Levisio, da parte sua, cosi continua l'autore anonimo, «giace a meridione, due ore di distanza da Macri, in una ridente vallata piena di vigneti sul posto dell'antica Carmylissos. Questo nome è ellenico, e resta tale anche negli archivi dell'amministrazione turca (*Καργὲι Λειβις*)...» ([41]).

Nel chiudere questa nota topografica, riteniamo che la toponomastica antica si conserva solo in parte, e nel Glaucus sinus grazie a Makri. Carmylessus non è stato definitivamente accertato, pur se la sua localizzazione si pone fra i villaggi di Hisarönü e Kaya ; Cassidai risponde bene al medievale Caput Trachili, l'odierno Ilbiz burnu, un promontorio (Yarım adası) che protegge da nord la più piccola delle due isole bizantine, Karacören. Si è ritenuta non esatta l'ipotesi di situare la città di Markiani all'interno del golfo di Belceğiz : la

(38) Evidentemente si ha un errore, comunque si legga il miglio : ha senso ritenere «mia 1».

(39) KRETSCHMER, *op. cit.*, p. 524. La prossima stazione è *sete caui* (= *ἄκρα ὀκτώ* di Starbone ; *Septem Capita, Sette capi, ἱερὰ ἄκρα* dello *Stadiasmus* ; il turco Yedi Burun) nella geografia da noi analizzata ; con Yedi Br. entriamo nel territorio di Sidyma. SODINI, *Restes byzantines*, pp. 554-555 discute i portulani e Piri Reis. Il testo di Rizo è conforme al Portulano greco II (A. DEI ATTE, *Les Portulans grecs*, Liège-Paris 1947, p. 252) ove si rinviene *Περδικονήσι* come sinonimo di ixole de pernixe, attuale Gemile.

(40) *Περὶ Λυκίας καὶ Λυκίων. Περὶ Μακρῆς καὶ Λειβισίου*, in *Ξενοφάνης* I (1904), p. 87 ; cf anche V. CUINET, *La Turquie d'Asie. Géographie administrative*, III, Paris 1894, pp. 680-682. Ottima la descrizione di HOSKYN, *Narrative of a Survey of part of the South Coast of Asia Minor*, in *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society of London* 12 (1842), p. 147.

(41) *Ibid.*, 90, ove segue una ricostruzione del nome Leviso da Carmylissos.

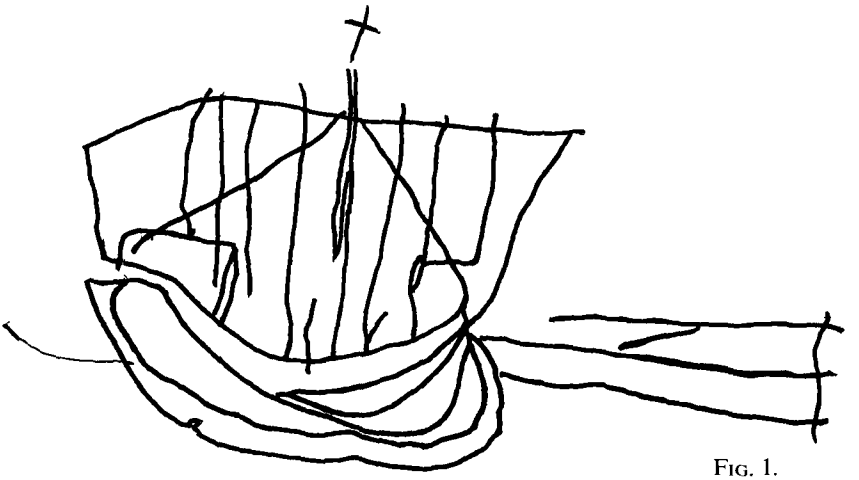


FIG. 1.

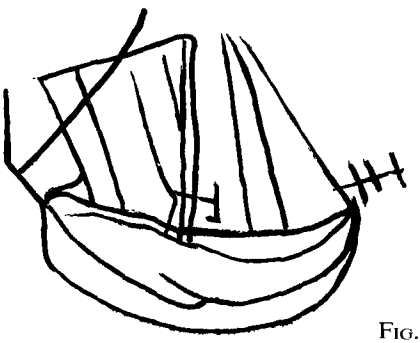


FIG. 2.

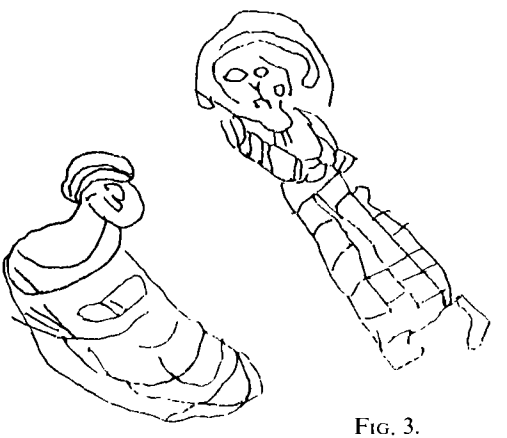


FIG. 3.

tradizione scritta relativa alla vita di S. Nicola di Sion non offre assoltamente nulla alla topografia di questo golfo, mentre quella relativa alla traslazione delle reliquie ha presentato una differente natura. Il porto o scalo, ora interrato e paludoso, di Ölüdeniz risponde a Symbolon-Perdikiai, mentre l'isola de pernixe o de Leuixo, o altrimenti di S. Nicola, si può identificare con l'attuale Gemile adası. Andando oltre, l'identificazione di Gemile con Levisus resta ipotetica (nessuna iscrizione finora) pur se molto ragionevole : nessuna fonte fissa la città, e le medievali citano il porto senza specificarne la natura (insulare o continentale).

Su quest'isola aggiungiamo ancora qualcosa. Pur se di difficile formulazione la «connessione urbana» fra Gemile-Karacören-Ölüdeniz, è tuttavia da riconoscere una forma di unità territoriale voluta sia dalla tecnica costruttiva come da quella pittorica. Inoltre, che l'isola di Gemile abbia avuto un culto particolare per Nicola di Myra, è data non solo dall'iscrizione «dedicatoria» nella chiesa II (42), ma anche dalla presenza, ancora nel corridoio voltato che circonda l'abside della stessa chiesa, dei graffiti che presentiamo (43) (Fig. 1-3) come testimonianza evidente di un culto in età medievale.

Roma. Vincenzo RUGGIERI.

(42) T. MASUDA in *The Survey*, p. 67, n. 10 e ill. 2. Per esempi più vicini di *'Εμμανουήλ*, cf. V. RUGGIERI, in *JÖB* 40 (1990), p. 397 ; H. GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1922, n. 146.

(43) I temi figurativi si riscontrano nelle «sea stories» e «dreams» dei nauti : cf. N. P. ŠEVČENKO, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, Torino 1983.

UNE PRATIQUE DE MAGIE BYZANTINE ET LA PRISE DE PERGAME PAR LES ARABES

Traitant dans ses écrits de la prise en 717 (1) de Pergame par les Arabes avec à leur tête Mashamah (*Μασαλμᾶ* pour les sources byzantines) (2), le Patriarche Nicéphore nous donne le très intéressant renseignement suivant à propos d'une pratique de magie qui fut appliquée par les assiégés dans leurs efforts pour éviter que la ville fût prise : possédés de quelque inspiration démoniaque, ils se saisirent d'une femme enceinte de son premier enfant et prête à accoucher, il lui déchirèrent le ventre, il s'emparèrent du fœtus et il le précipitèrent dans un récipient rempli d'eau bouillante dans lequel ils plongèrent ensuite chacun le bras droit. Toutefois ce geste devait provoquer la colère divine, ce qui eut pour effet d'empêcher précisément ces mains droites de tenir les armes, de sorte que les ennemis purent prendre la ville sans livrer combat (3).

Théophane reproduit de même ce renseignement, quoique de façon plus sommaire et il attribue l'idée de l'ensemble du rituel magique aux suggestions d'un magicien (4). La comparaison des textes de Nicéphore et de Théophane a permis de démontrer que le second n'a fait qu'emprunter des détails concrets au premier dès lors que ceux-ci convenaient à merveille au propos de son œuvre ; en effet, compte tenu de la stricte et fanatique ligne iconodule que suit Théophane, on peut supposer qu'il adopte cette version des faits précisément parce qu'elle lui permet de montrer les vices et de souligner les croyances magiques des puissants

(1) À propos de cet événement, v. Al. G. K. Savvidis, *Τὸ οἰκουμενικὸ βυζαντινὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ ἐμφάνιση τοῦ Ἰσλὰμ (518-717 μ. Χ.)*, Athènes 1990², p. 121. V. également Ahmad M. H. Shboul, *Byzantium and the Arabs : The image of the Byzantines as mirrored in the Arabic Literature* dans *Elisabeth-Michael Jeffreys and Ann Moffatt, Byzantine Papers.* Proceedings of the First Austrialian Byzantine Studies Conference (17-19 May 1978), Camberra 1981, pp. 52-53.

(2) Cfr. R. Guilland, *L'expédition de Maslama contre Constantinople (717-718)*, Al Machriq 1955), pp. 89-112 (= *Études Byzantines*, Paris 1955, p. 109-133). A. Christofilopoulou, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία, Β΄ 1 (610-687)*, Athènes 1984, p. 100.

(3) Nicéphore le Patriarche, *Ἱστορία σύντομος*, éd. C. Mango dans *CFHB*, Washington 1990, 53, p. 120-122.

(4) Théophane, *Χρονογραφία*, éd. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 390-391.

de son temps, dès lors que ces derniers, en tant que partisans de l'empereur iconoclaste Léon III, sont considérés ipso facto comme des représentants de l'idéologie officielle de l'État, et donc comme étant eux-mêmes iconoclastes. Ainsi se trouve condamnée, une fois de plus, toute la politique de l'iconoclasme, et ce, en raison de ses liens prétendus avec des pratiques magiques antichrétiennes.

Enfin, suivant à quelques variantes près Théophane, Cédrénos attribue pareillement l'idée de cet acte aux conseils d'un sorcier (5). L'épisode n'est pas évoqué par les autres chroniqueurs et historiens byzantins dans leurs écrits se rapportant à cette période.

L'étude des passages ci-dessus évoqués conduit, nous semble-t-il, à soulever principalement les deux questions suivantes : a) à quelles sources Nicéphore et Théophane ont-ils puisé pour composer la description qui précède ? et b) l'acte magique décrit a-t-il sa place dans le cadre de la magie populaire byzantine ou s'agit-il d'une construction savante destinée à justifier la prise de Pergame à titre de châtiment divin infligé à cause du vice de ses habitants et de ses défenseurs qui les a fait recourir à des pratiques démoniaques et, partant, antichrétiennes ? Répondre à la seconde question devrait nous conduire à traiter de façon adéquate du problème que soulève la première et qui a trait à l'identification des sources d'inspiration et de la méthode de travail de ces deux auteurs byzantins.

Suivant les descriptions dont nous disposons, c'est poussés par une inspiration démoniaque ou encouragés par les conseils d'un magicien que les défenseurs de la ville ont pris le parti de lacérer les entrailles d'une mère prête à accoucher, de se saisir du fœtus et de le faire bouillir dans une marmite pleine d'eau ; ensuite les combattants ont plongé dans cette marmite leur main droite avec la manche pour acquérir une force divine ou surnaturelle qui les soutiendrait pendant le combat. Mais cela devait provoquer le courroux divin et les rendre incapables de prendre les armes, ce qui allait permettre à leurs ennemis de s'emparer de Pergame. La pratique ainsi décrite relève de la magie populaire de l'époque (6) et avait pour but d'augmenter les forces des combattants

(5) Georges CÉDRÉNOS, *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν*, éd. I. BEKKER, *CSHB*, p. 788.

(6) En ce qui concerne la magie populaire byzantine, v. G. VIKAN, *Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium*, dans J. SCARBOROUGH (éd.), *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine*, *DOP*, 38 (1984), pp. 65-86. L'accent est souvent mis dans la bibliographie sur la survivance de pratiques magiques antiques dans la magie populaire byzantine ; cf. M. T. d'ALVERNY, *Survivance de la magie antique*, dans P. WILPERT (éd.), *Antike*

en communiquant à leurs bras une force due à la pureté de l'enfant non encore né.

L'origine populaire de cette pratique ressort du recours à une pratique analogue dans des cas où l'objectif visé est non plus d'accroître, mais au contraire de neutraliser la force de la personne soumise à la pratique magique ; dès lors, il y a inversion des matériaux utilisés. Dans un paragraphe d'un texte hagiographique relatif à saint Hypatius et de date inconnue, nous lisons que pour combattre la force miraculeuse du saint considérée comme une force magique, ce saint avait été mis en pièces, ses articulations disloquées et les diverses parties de son corps bouillies pendant trois jours et trois nuits dans du vinaigre, l'idée étant que de la sorte sa force magique serait anéantie (7). Même si l'exactitude de ce récit peut être contestée, ce qui est en tous cas certain, c'est que l'on y retrouve un écho des conceptions populaires sur la neutralisation de la puissance magique ; bien sûr les pratiques correspondantes n'étaient sans doute pas appliquées à des êtres humains, comme le montre la structure commune aux renseignements donnés par Nicéphore dans le texte que nous étudions ici, mais aussi aux éléments constitutifs de la magie populaire grecque moderne, tels que nous les présenterons dans la suite. Nous pouvons donc considérer cette information comme fiable quant à l'idée et au contenu de la pratique magique sur laquelle elle porte.

und Orient im Mittelalter, Berlin, 1962 et A. A. BARB, *The survival of the Magic Arts*, dans A. MOMIGLIANO (éd.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 100-125, de même que P. BROWN, *Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity from late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, dans M. DOUGLAS (éd.), *Witchcraft, Confessions and Accusations*, Londres, 1970, pp. 17-45. Par ailleurs, en ce qui concerne de façon plus générale la magie byzantine, v. Ph. KOUKOULÈS, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, 6, Athènes 1955, pp. 167-261 ; C. BRUEL, *Superstition et magie dans la mentalité religieuse byzantine sous les Paléologues*, Toulouse, 1970 et C. CUPANE, *La magia a Bisanzio nel secolo XIV : azione e reazione*, dans *JÖB* 29 (1980), pp. 237-262.

(7) Fr. HALKIN, *Un recueil de légendes hagiographiqes : le ms. bollandien 1090*, dans *BZ*, 44 (1951), pp. 255-256. En ce qui concerne l'évocation de pratiques magiques dans les textes hagiographiques, v. H. J. MAGOULIAS, *The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A. D. : Sorcery, Relics and Icons*, dans *Βυζαντινά*, 37 (1967), pp. 228-269. D. de F. ABRAHMSE, *Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period*, dans *BF*, 8 (1982), pp. 3-17. Le texte hagiographique en question concerne saint Hypatios, évêque de Gangres (28 juin) ; à propos de ce saint et de son martyre, cf. *BHG*, pp. 250-251, art. 4 ; S. FERRI, dans *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 3 (1931), pp. 87-102 et *AB*, 51 (1933), pp. 392-395.

Les renseignements fournis par notre texte démontrent que ce qui est décrit, c'est une pratique magique visant à neutraliser le pouvoir maléfique d'un magicien en mettant son corps en pièces et en le faisant bouillir dans un bain de vinaigre (8), procédé qui est souvent utilisé dans la magie populaire pour détourner tantôt des esprits mauvais ou des puissances maléfiques dans des charmes (9), tantôt des animaux nuisibles tels que les serpents (10). En revanche, dans le cas de l'acte magique que nous examinons ici, l'objectif vis est de démultiplier et de communiquer une force bienfaisante ; aussi le fœtus, qui est considérer comme porteur d'une force vivifiante, n'est pas mis en pièces mais est bouilli tout entier dans de l'eau dans laquelle sa force doit passer pour se communiquer ensuite aux manches des bras droits, et donc aux bras eux-mêmes qui allaient tenir les armes et, par synecdoque, à la totalité du corps des défenseurs de Pergame (11) pour les soutenir de façon magique pendant le combat qui allait suivre.

Suivant la tradition populaire grecque moderne, les jeunes enfants, tout-puissants d'un point de vue magique, sont pourchassés par un démon féminin, l'étouffeuse d'enfants Gellô (12), figure à laquelle s'est substituée, dans les traditions occidentales, celle des vieilles sorcières (13) qui volent de même les petits enfants pour les utiliser dans leurs pratiques de magie. C'est encore le sang des petits enfants, considéré de façon plus générale comme symbole représentatif de la force

(8) M. G. VARVOUNIS, *Ὄψεις τῆς καθημερινῆς ζωῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν ἀπὸ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα*, Athènes 1994, pp. 110-111.

(9) Ph. KOUKOULÈS, *Μεσαιωνικοὶ καὶ νεοελληνικοὶ κατάδεσμοι*, dans *Λαογραφία*, 9, (1926-28), p. 80.

(10) Elpida SARANDI-STAMOULI, *Προλήψεις καὶ δεισιδαιμονίες τῆς Θράκης*, dans *Λαογραφία*, 14 (1952), p. 175 et A. KARANASTASIS, *Οἱ ζευγάδες τῆς Κῶ, ἡ ζωὴ καὶ οἱ ἀσχολίες των* dans *Λαογραφία*, 14 (1952), p. 299. En ce qui concerne le phénomène de la survivance de semblables éléments de culture byzantine au sein de l'hellénisme moderne, cf. à titre indicatif G. M. SIFAKIS, *Folklore and History in Modern Greece*, dans *Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Studies in honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, New York 1993, pp. 393-406.

(11) Pour ce qui est des croyances quant à l'influence exercée par un corps au départ d'une seule de ses parties, coryances qui sont fréq ente lorsqu'il s'agit de magie, cf. R. MUTH, *Träger der Lebenskraft. Ausscheidungen des Organismus im volksglaubender Antike*, Wien, 1954, pp. 86-89.

(12) D. B. ŒKONOMIDÈS, *Yellô dans les traditions des peuples hellénique et roumain*, dans *Λαογραφία*, 22 (1965), pp. 328-329.

(13) J. GASTER, *Two Thousand Years of a Charm Against the Child-stealing Witch*, dans *Foklore*, 11 (1900), pp. 129-162.

surnaturelle, qui est réputé servir de remède pour soigner des affections diverses (14).

Dans la Chronique de Pseudo-Siméon par exemple, comme l'empereur Constantin cherchait à être guéri de l'affection cutanée dont il a été affligé durant les dernières années de sa vie et avait sollicité l'aide de médecins, certains juifs lui conseillèrent de prendre un bain dans du sang de jeunes enfants afin de se purifier (15). Ce même récit nous est livré par d'autres écrivains byzantins ainsi que par les chroniques et les livres populaires ultérieurs (16) ; en outre, dans la Chronique d'Ephrem d'Énos, les médecins juifs font place à des sorciers paçens (17), ce qui semble indicatif des transformations subies par les récits de ce genre au cours des siècles suivant les écrivains qui les transmettent.

Bien qu'ici il s'agisse de petits enfants et non de fœtus comme dans le cas de la prise de Pergame, par delà la croyance dans les vertus thérapeutique du sang, le nœud de la trame tient dans le mot *ἀφθόρων* : le sang qui provient de petits enfants purs et sans péchés tels que les nouveuax-nés et les fœtus est doté de vertus magiques particulières (18), comme d'ailleurs leur corps tout entier ; cette croyance repose précisément sur le fait qu'il s'agit d'être exempts de toute souillure. L'objectif est donc de s'approprier ce pouvoir magique, comme dans le cas des défenseurs de Pergame et de l'acte de magie auquel ils se sont livrés comme nous le racontent le Patriarche Nicéphore, Théophane et, plus tard, Cédrénos.

Toutefois l'origine de la conception sous-jacente à ces croyances peut être repérée dans les traditions relatives aux mises à mort rituelles de petits enfants ou aux rites magiques consistant à manger des nouveuax-nés ou de jeunes enfants ; il s'agit de traditions attestées par les textes

(14) *Κέντρο Ἐρεύνης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, ms 1141, f. 27 (réfugiés de Sinopi, M. Lioudaki, 1938. N. G. Politis, *Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα*, Athènes, 1920, p. 33.

(15) Fr. Halkin, *Le règne de Constantin d'après la chronique inédite de Pseudo-Siméon*, dans *Byz.*, 29-30 (1959-60), p. 14.

(16) D B. Œconomidès, *"Χρονογράφου" τοῦ Δωροθέου τὰ λαογραφικά*, dans *Λαογραφία*, 18 (1959), p. 231, pp. 242-243.

(17) Ephrem d'Enos, *Chronique*, éd. O. Lampsidis, *CFHB*, Athènes, 1990.

(18) Cfr. M. Παϊδουσις, *Τὸ αἷμα στὶς δεισδαίμονες συνήθειες καὶ τὴν δημώδη ἰατρικὴ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ* dans *Λαογραφία*, 29 (1974), p. 249 ss. ; et Aglaia Bimbi-Papaspyropoulou, *Παραδοσιακὴ ἰατρικὴ στὴν Πελοπόννησο*, Athènes, 1985, p. 44 ss. ; M. G. Varvounis, *Ὄψεις...*, pp. 132-133.

grecs de l'antiquité et les mythes afférents, traditions qui ont survécu jusque pendant la période byzantine et dont on trouve des témoignages chez divers chroniqueurs byzantins. Au surplus, on retrouve dans les sources byzantines l'histoire d'Astyage et de Harpagas, laquelle a ses racines dans Hérodote (*Histoires* I, 108-119). Cette histoire est longuement évoquée par Constantin Manassès dont le texte a d'ailleurs servi ultérieurement de source pour la rédaction de livres populaires tels que la "Chronique" de Dorothée de Monembasie ([19]) et la *Νέα σύνοψις διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν* de Matthéos Kigalas ([20]) ; suivant la version que nous donne le récit de Manassès ([21]), après avoir invité Harpagos et son fils à un repas, Astyage égorgea l'enfant, le cuisina et le servit à son père qui, ignorant du fait, mangea de la chair de son fils. À la fin du repas, Astyage alla même jusqu'à montrer à Harpagos la tête et les mains de l'enfant pour faire réaliser au malheureux ce qui venait de lui arriver.

De telles histoires se rencontrent fréquemment dans les sources grecques anciennes où il est question de la mère donnant à manger leur enfant à son mari (Prokne - Térée ([22]), Aédon - Polytechnos ([23])), de la sœur offrant en repas à son père la chair de son frère (Harpalykè - Klymenos ([24])), de l'oncle donnant son neveu à manger au père de ce dernier (Atrée - Thyeste ([25])) ou du grand-père offrant son petit fils comme mets à son père (Lycaon - Zeus ([26])). En outre, le thème du meurtre des enfants et de leur présentation en repas à leur père se retrouve également dans les chants et les contes populaires un peu partout en Europe et notamment en Grèce où un exemple particu-

(19) D. B. Œconomidès, *"Χρονογράφου" τοῦ Δωροθέου*, p. 232, art. 1.

(20) Matthéos Kigalas, *Νέα σύνοψις διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν*, Venise, 1637, p. *ρκστ'*. à propos de cet ouvrage, cf. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique au XVIIe siècle* 1, Paris, 1894, pp. 355-356, art. 263. D. B. Œconomidès, *"Χρονογράφου" τοῦ Δωροθέου*, p. 142, soutient que l'ouvrage a été publié en 1650 et non en 1627 qui est l'année indiquée par l'édition de Venise.

(21) Constantin Manassès, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, éd. Im. Bekker, *CSHB*, Bonn, 1837, col. 786-795.

(22) I. Kakridis, (éd.), *Ἑλληνικὴ Μυθολογία*, 3. *Οἱ ἥρωες, τοπικὲς παραδόσεις*, Athènes 1986, p. 23, pp. 26-27, p. 33, p. 291 et p. 293.

(23) *Ἑλληνικὴ Μυθολογία*, pp. 23-27, p. 82 et p. 287.

(24) *Ἑλληνικὴ Μυθολογία*, pp. 335-336 et pp. 101-102 : à propos de Klyménos.

(25) P. Bergmann, *Der Atridenmythos in Epos, Lyrik und Drama*, Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1970, avec une bibliographie relative.

(26) G. Piccaluga, *Lycaon. Un tema mitico*, Rome, 1968, avec renvois aux sources.

lièrement caractéristique est celui du chant relatif à la «mère-meurtrière» (*ἡ μάνα-φόνισσα*) (27) qui sert en repas à son époux le foie de leur enfant.

Dans tous les cas que nous venons de citer, les auteurs de ces actes horribles sont bien sûr essentiellement animés par un désir de vengeance ; néanmoins l'acte comme tel, puisque la victime est toujours un enfant, semble lié à l'idée du transfert d'une force magique. Il s'agit d'une idée qui se trouve à la base de la pratique magique byzantine que nous examinons ici.

On pourrait cependant se demander pourquoi Nicéphore, qui est peut-être le plus sérieux chroniqueur byzantin, a intégré dans son œuvre l'épisode en question, alors qu'on ne le retrouve pas dans les écrits d'autres chroniqueurs davantage enclins à utiliser des thèmes narratifs populaires, tels que Georges le Moine, par exemple. Il semble que Nicéphore, dont la ligne idéologique est fondamentalement de soutenir l'orthdoxie et l'autorité de l'Église (28), ait voulu se conformer à la lettre et à l'esprit des décisions prises lors du Concile Œcuménique *Quinisexte* (691/692) qui, comme on le sait, avait condamné les usages payens qui subsistaient dans les mœurs des chrétiens de l'époque (29), ces décisions constituant, parallèlement aux commentaires des canonistes du XIIe siècle (30), une précieuse source d'informations de nature folklorique en ce qui concerne Byzance.

Au demeurant, cette politique du Concile *Quinisexte* apparaît clairement dès le discours d'entrée (31) ; c'est dans le même esprit que sont condamnés de nombreux usages populaires (32), divers types de

(27) V. N. G. POLITIS, *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τραγούδια τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ*, Athènes, 1932[3], p. 137-139. D. B. ŒCONOMIDÈS, *"Χρονογράφου" τοῦ Δωροθέου*, p. 232, art. 1.

(28) V. H. HUNGER, *Die hochspachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* 1, München, 1978, p. 344-347.

(29) G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, trad. Anglaise de J. HUSSEY, Oxford, 1993[7], pp. 138-139. Ékaterini CHRISTOFILOPOULOU, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία, B. 1 (610-867)*, Athènes, 1984, pp. 339-341.

(30) Pour plus de renseignements sur le sujet, cf. l'étude de V. LAURENT, *L'œuvre canonique du Concile in Trullo (691/692), source primaire du droit de l'Église Orientale*, dans *RÉB*, 23 (1965), pp. 7-41 ; Sp. TROÏANOS, *Ἡ Πενθέκτη Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος καὶ το νομοθετικό της ἔργο*, Athènes, 1992, avec la bibliographie relative au sujet.

(31) *Syntagma*, II, 1852, p. 299. Les canons dirigés contre les magiciens sont les canons 61 et 65 du concile ; cf. P.-P. IOANNOU, *Discipline générale antique (IVe-IXe sicles) I. 1 : Les canons des conciles œcuméniques*, Rome, 1992, p. 203.

(32) Ilse ROCHOW, *Zu "heidnischen" Bräuchen bei der Bevölkerung des byzantinischen Reiches im 7 Jahrhundert, vorallem auf Grund der Bestimmungen des Trullanum*, dans *Klio*, 60 (1978), pp. 483-497.

pratiques populaires (33), mais également la magie dans son ensemble (34). En rapportant l'épisode en question et son dénouement, Nicéphore condamne la magie et met en évidence ses effets désastreux, ce en quoi il se montre fidèle aux décisions du Concile *Quinisexte* tout en faisant en quelque sorte de la propagande en vue de leur application.

Par conséquent, le Patriarche Nicéphore puise aux traditions populaires de son temps puisqu'aussi bien il était contemporain des événements qu'ils décrit. La pratique magique qu'il signale contient des éléments qui la rattachent aux pratiques magiques traditionnelles des byzantins (35) ; il est d'ailleurs assez probable que derrière ce récit se dissimule un fonds de réalité historique sur base duquel s'est créée cette légende que notre auteur, en authentique chroniqueur byzantin qu'il est, a incorporée dans son œuvre. Bien entendu, un acte aussi horrible ne pouvait qu'être condamné par Dieu (36) qui, par un acte immédiat de justice divine (37), fit en sorte que les mains souillées par le crime commis à Pergame ne pussent porter les armes, ce qui devait avoir pour effet la prise de la ville par les Arabes. De la sorte, l'auteur était non seulement en accord avec la condamnation ecclésiastique de la

(33) Fr. TINNEFELD, *Zum Profane Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdict des Trullanum (691)*, dans *Βυζαντινά*, 6 (1974), pp. 321-343. V. également Ph. KOUKOULÈS, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς, Β'1*, Athènes, 1948, pp. 13-31 et K. PITSAKIS, *Μορφὲς "δρωμένων" σὲ βυζαντινὲς νομικὲς πηγὲς*, Actes du Congrès *"Λαϊκὰ δρώμενα : παλιὲς μορφὲς καὶ σύγχρονες ἐκφράσεις"*, Athènes, 1996, pp. 153-171.

(34) V. à ce sujet R. BROWNING, *Theodore Balsamon's Commentary on the Canons of the Counsil in Trullo as a Source on Everyday Life in Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, dans *Ἡ καθημερινὴ ζωὴ στὸ Βυζάντιο : τομὲς καὶ συνέχειες στὴν ἑλληνιστικὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ παράδοση*, Athènes, 1989, pp. 421-427 ; Od. LAMPSIDIS, *Πῶς εἰσάγουν εἰς τά κείμενά των οἱ εἰσηγηταὶ τῶν κανόνων τὰς εἰδήσεις διὰ τὸν σύγχρονόν των κόσμον* dans N. ŒCONOMIDÈS (éd.) *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12° αἰῶνα : κανονικὸ δίκαιο, κράτος καὶ κοινωνία*, Athènes 1991, pp. 211-227.

(35) Théophane mentionne un magicien qui avait donné des conseils à ce propos aux défenseurs de la ville ; sur la figure du magicien à Byzance, v. à titre indicatif C. GALLATARIOTOU, *Holy Women and Witches : Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender*, dans *BMGS*, 9 (1984-85), pp. 55-94. Cf. Sp. TROÏANOS, *Ἡ θέση τῶν μάγων στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία*, dans *Πρακτικὰ Ἡμερίδας "Οἱ περιθωριακοὶ στὸ Βυζάντιο"*, Athènes, 1993, pp. 285-286.

(36) Nicéphore parle de manière générale d'une influence démoniaque à laquelle est fréquemment attribuée la tendance de l'homme à s'adonner à la magie ; v. R. P. GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief in late Byzantine Demonology*, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 125-126, pp. 155-156, pp. 165-166 et pp. 249-302.

(37) Cf. pour des conceptions du même genre M. G. VARVOUNIS, *Ὄψεις*, pp. 79, 127.

magie ([38]), mais il faisait au surplus rentrer la prise de Pergame dans le plan plus général de l'économie divine ; ainsi il donnait à ses lecteurs non seulement des informations d'ordre historique, mais aussi une leçon morale qui était parfaitement dans la ligne de l'idéologie sous-tendant la chronographie byzantine classique.

Université Démocrite de Thrace M. G. VARVOUNIS.

(38) Sp. TROÏANOS, *Μαγεία καὶ δίκαιο στὸ Βυζάντιο*, dans *Ἀρχαιολογία*, 20 (1986), pp. 41-44, avec renvoi aux sources ; cf. également H. MANGUIRE, *Magic and the Christian Image*, dans H. MANGUIRE (éd.), *Byzantine Magic*, Washington D. C., 1995, pp. 51-71.

DOCUMENTS

SELECTIONS FROM A PRIVATE COLLECTION OF BYZANTINE BULLAE (1)

The following is a catalogue of twenty-four Byzantine lead seals selected from an American private collection. Because the collection contains in addition two Byzantine gold bullae, it seemed appropriate to include them as well. In selecting the lead bullae, two criteria were generally applied : uniqueness and rarity — qualities at once recognizable, for example, with regard to no. 11, the seal of Emperor Heraclius and his father, the exarch Heraclius, or to no. 6, a specimen bearing on the obverse the unusual depiction of the prophet Zacharias. In some instances bullae have been previously published in auction catalogues (such as no. 15, the seal of John vestarches, grand chartoularios, judge of the Velum and of the Thrakesioi, from a Sternberg auction of 1994). We have nonetheless included such specimens, for few scholars after all have access to an extensive collection of auction literature. With thanks to the American collector who has given his permission for us to publish, we begin with a listing and discussion of the gold bullae and follow with a descriptive catalogue of the lead ones.

(1) Michael Braunlin is responsible for the essays and entries on the two gold bullae and the lead seal of Heraclius, and wishes to thank the owner of the collection for his friendship and support over many years. He also thanks Prof. Barbara Burrell of the University of Cincinnati for her helpful suggestions. John Nesbitt wrote the entries on all the lead seals, except for no. 11, and dedicates his contribution to the memory of John Wiita.

FIG. 1.

GOLD BULLAE

1. **Two-Solidi Bulla of Constantine VII and Romanos I (ca. 950-959)**

No. 1 — D. 25 mm. W. 8.73 g. Double struck (obv.). Fig. 1.
Unpublished.

Obv. Bearded bust of Christ facing, with cross behind head. He wears a tunic and himation, raises His r. hand in the sling of His cloak and clasps in His l. hand a Gospel book embossed with jewels on the cover. The cross has a line in the middle of each arm running parallel to the sides. Circular inscription, beginning at 9 o'clock and ending with a six-rayed star : +IhSЦSX-P..ZЦS.

Rev. On l., bearded half-length representation of Constantine VII facing, wearing a modified loros and crown with cross (not visible). On r., a slightly smaller beardless half-length representation of Romanos II, facing, wearing a traditional loros and crown with cross. They hold between them a long cross (probably patriarchal, but details unclear). Remains of a circular inscription at r. :.....ΠAΠ Ь R (star at end ?).

The greater number of extant bullae date from the Paleologid period. Bullae predating the second half of the 11th century are extremely rare. The earliest surviving bullae belong to the reign of Basil I (867-886), of which two specimens are known (2). The gold bulla that is

(2) The standard study of Byzantine gold bullae is P. GRIERSON's article *Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks*, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp.

published here and the one published in the next entry add appreciably to the small corpus of 10th-century gold bullae available for study.

The Christ portrait and inscription on the present bulla resemble those found on Class IX (*DOC* 9) (3) of the solidi (known only from a pattern) of Romanos I and Constantine VII. The image on our seal differs, however, in that on *DOC* 9 the arms of the cross project from a close- fitting nimbus. The detail of the book cover on the Dumbarton Oaks specimen is unclear. For a similar Christ portrait on lead seals of the reign of Constantine VII and colleagues, cf. ZACOS and VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, nos. 66a and 66c (Romanos I, Christopher, and Constantine VII) (4). But the lettering on the present seal is smaller than on those just mentioned.

Most of the inscription on the reverse is off the flan or abraded and is therefore of limited value for identifying the royal pair. The portraits closely resemble those found on Class 6 (*DOC* 27) (5) of the folles of the joint reign of Constantine VII and Romanos II, dated to ca. 950-959. For this reason we are inclined to restore the inscription as [COⲚSƵ CЄ ROⲚⲘAⲚ Ь R.

A remarkable aspect of our seal is its method of manufacture. GRIERSON (*Byzantine Gold Bullae*, pp. 244-245) has noted that the earliest bullae were struck in the same manner as lead seals, i. e., from a single piece of metal. Later gold bullae, from the reign of Michael VII onwards, consisted of two thick, separate pieces of metal, soldered together and then struck. Bullae of the Paleologid period, on the other hand, were made from two very thin pieces of metal separately struck beforehand and then joined together with wax. The present seal very clearly shows evidence of a seam along the edges, indicating that it is composed of two separate pieces of metal.

239-253. Concerning the gold bullae of Basil I, see specifically pp. 241 and 248, no. 1. Grierson (p. 248, no. 2) also published a one-solidus bulla of the 10th century from the sole reign of Constantine VII (dated to 945). G. ZACOS and A. VEGLERY have added one more specimen to the known corpus of 10th century gold bullae : a two-solidi bulla of the joint reign of Romanos I, Constantine VII, and Christopher (921/2-924). See their *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Basel, 1972, no. 65.

(3) *DOC* = *Dumbarton Oaks Collection*. The specific reference is to P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, III.2, Washington, DC, 1973, p. 548.

(4) See also ZACOS and VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, no. 70a for this type of Christ portrait (Constantine VII alone) with smaller lettering.

(5) GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III.2, p. 568.

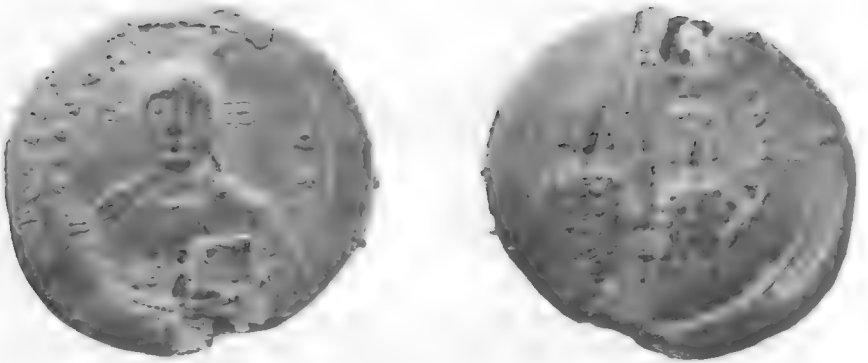


FIG. 1.

GOLD BULLAE

1. Two-Solidi Bulla of Constantine VII and Romanos I (ca. 950-959)

No. 1 — D. 25 mm. W. 8.73 g. Double struck (obv.). Fig. 1.
Unpublished.

Obv. Bearded bust of Christ facing, with cross behind head. He wears a tunic and himation, raises His r. hand in the sling of His cloak and clasps in His l. hand a Gospel book embossed with jewels on the cover. The cross has a line in the middle of each arm running parallel to the sides. Circular inscription, beginning at 9 o'clock and ending with a six-rayed star : +IhSЦSX-P..ZЦS.

Rev. On l., bearded half-length representation of Constantine VII facing, wearing a modified loros and crown with cross (not visible). On r., a slightly smaller beardless half-length representation of Romanos II, facing, wearing a traditional loros and crown with cross. They hold between them a long cross (probably patriarchal, but details unclear). Remains of a circular inscription at r. : .....ΠAΠ Ь R (star at end ?).

The greater number of extant bullae date from the Paleologid period. Bullae predating the second half of the 11th century are extremely rare. The earliest surviving bullae belong to the reign of Basil I (867-886), of which two specimens are known (2). The gold bulla that is

(2) The standard study of Byzantine gold bullae is P. GRIERSON's article *Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks*, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp.

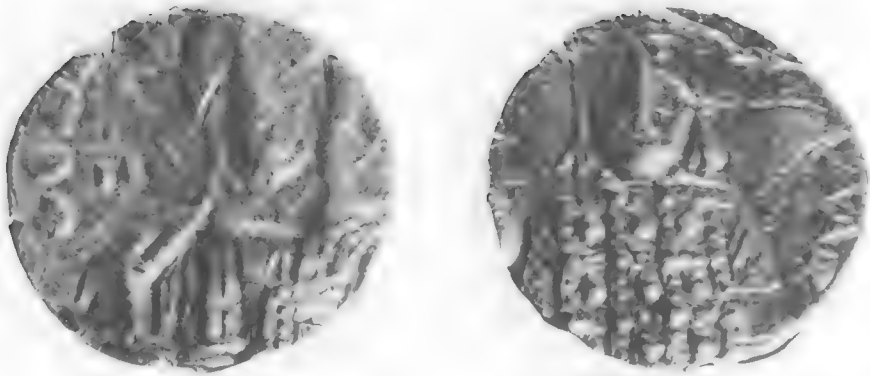


FIG. 2.

2. **One-Solidus Bulla of Nikephoros II Phokas (?) (963-969 ?)**

No. 2 — D. 18 mm. W. 4.17 g. Fig. 2.

Ed. S. BENDALL, *The Spink Numismatic Circular* (December, 1989), p. 323.

Obv. Bearded bust of Christ facing, with nimbus cruciger (details unclear). He wears a tunic and himation, raises His r. hand in the sling of His cloak and clasps in His l. hand a Gospel book, decorated along the top and l. edge with a row of dots. Partial remains of circular inscription at l. : +ЄMM: *'Εμμ[ανουήλ].* Visible in field at l. : IC (a pellet above).

Rev. Bearded bust of emperor facing, wearing a modified loros and crown (with cross : off flan) and pendilia. He holds in his r. hand a globus surmounted by a cross (patriarchal ?). Remains of a circular inscription at r. : A ́b ́R ́: a(ugustus) b(asileus) R(omaion).

In publishing this bulla, Bendall noted that inscriptional and iconographic details are unclear due to the object having been struck with dies intended for a multiple-solidus bulla. Although most of the identifying inscription on the reverse is off the flan, he felt that the specimen could reasonably be assigned to the 10th century, more specifically to the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas. He based his identification on the legend's similarity to that on Nikephoros's first-issue histamena (*DOC* 1) (6) and on a comparable portrait appearing

(6) GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III.2, p. 582.

on his Class II histamena (*DOC* 4) (7). He cautioned, however, that the bulla could possibly belong to John I (969-976) in light of similarity in costume and the fact that the sigla IC-XC in the obverse field do not appear on coinage until John's final issues, where, as here, the legend appears with a pellet above (*DOC* 6b) (8). He closed his article with notation that Prof. Grierson, who examined a photograph of the specimen, was inclined to date it to the reign of Nikephoros II.

The manner of the seal's strike is exceptional. As in the case of the entry above, the specimen appears to have been struck from two separate pieces of metal soldered together before striking. Although Grierson (*loc. cit.*, p. 244) has noted that early gold bullae were struck from single piece of metal, our two specimens indicate that in the 10th century both systems of manufacture were employed.

Lead Bullae

3. **Akindynos Kabal(l)oures, kouropalates (XI c.)**

No. 19. — D. 21 mm. W. 8.22 g. Fig. 3.
Ex-Lanz, *Auction*, 64, June 7, 1993, lot 1015.
Obv. Saiɴt Akindynos as orant ; inscription in two columns :
.|.|.|.|.|.-A|K|VN|Δ|V|N.:

Fig. 3.

(7) Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III.2, p. 584.
(8) Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III.2, p. 595.

[Ὁ ἅγιος] Ἀκύνδυν(ος). Indeterminate border.
Rev. Inscription of six lines : ΑΓΙЄΤΨΘΨ̣|ΡΟΗΘЄΙΤѠCѠ|ΔΨΛѠΑΚΙΝΔVΝ|
ΚΨΡΟΠΑΛΑΤ|
ΤѠΚΑΡΑΛΑΨ̣|ΡΗ. Indeterminate border.

Ἅγιε τοῦ Θ(ε)οῦ βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀκινδύν(ῳ) κουροπαλάτ(ῃ) τῷ Καβαλούρῃ.

A Constantine Kaballoures, patrikios and strategos of the Kibyrraiotai, died fighting the Rus in 1043. A Constantine Kaballoures, vestarches, is remembered in a chrysobull of Nikephoros Botaneiates of the year 1079. See *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου*, I, ed. Era Vranouse, Athens, 1980, p. 17, lines 4-5, and 21.

4. Akindynos imperial protospatharios and kleisouriarches of Seleukeia (IX c., first half)

No. 112. — D. 28 mm. W. 17.70 g. Fig. 4.
Unpublished.
Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram ; in the quarters : ΤѠ-CѠ|ΔΨ-ΛѠ. Indeterminate border.
Rev. Inscription of four lines : ΑΚΙΝΔ|Ν̣ѠΒΑCΠΑΘ|ΚΛΗCΨΡΙΑΡΧ|.ЄΛЄVΚ. Wreath border.

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀκινδ(ύ)νῳ β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) [(καὶ)] κλησουριάρχ(ῃ) [Σ]ελευκ(είας).

The *kleisoura* of Seleukeia was created during the first half of the ninth century. See N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris, 1972, p. 350. Akindynos should be an early holder of the office.

Fig. 4.

FIG. 5.

5. **Alexander metropolitan of Amastris (X c., second half)**

No. 124. — D. 23 mm. W. 7.32 g. Fig. 5.
Unpublished.
Obv. An ornate cross on a ball. Around, circular inscription beginning at 7 o'clock :
ΚΕRΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΥΛΩ. Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded by a cross of four dots and followed by a row of four pellets ⁘|+ΑΛΕ|ΖΑΝΔΡΩ|ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ|ΛΑΜΑC|ΤΡΙΔΟ|····. Border of dots.

K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ μητροπολ(ίτῃ) 'Αμάστριδο(ς).

Amastris (Amasra) was elevated to the rank of a metropolis in the course of the tenth century, sometime before the 970s. See V. LAURENT, *Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin. L'église*, V/1, Paris, 1963, p. 625. Alexander seems to be the see's earliest known metropolitan. For ecclesiastical lists, see the article by S. VAILHÉ in Vol. 2 of the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1914, col. 973 and G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, I,Padua, 1988, p. 87.

6. **Anthimos (VI/VII c.)**

No. 64. — D. 25 mm. W. 12.65 g. Fig. 6.
Unpublished.
Obv. High-relief bust of St. John Prodromos holding a long cross staff (l. hand). No epigraphy, but the figure is readily identifiable from his beard and hairy robe. Wreath border.

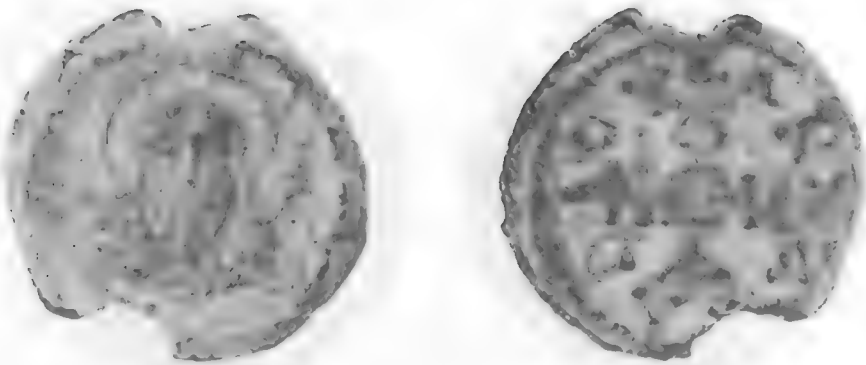


FIG. 6.

Rev. In center, a cruciform monogram : *'Ανθίμου* ; around, beginning at 12 o'clock :
+ΑΚΝΑΦΑΡΙΟΥ. Wreath border.
'Ανθίμου ἀκναφαρίου.

The meaning of ΑΚΝΑΦΑΡΙΟΥ is problematic. The word seems to be related to *ἄγναφος*, "new" "unbleached" "unsized" cloth. See W. ARNDT and F. W. GINGRICH, *A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [4], Chicago, 1952, s.v. *ἄγναφος* (p. 10) and L. CASSON, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, 1989, p. 110. The *Periplus* of the Red Sea (6 :2.23-24) mentions *ἱμάτια Βαρβαρικὰ ἄγναφα τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γινόμενα* (Casson's translation : "articles of clothing for the Barbaroi, unused, the kind produced in Egypt"). The word *agnapharios* appears to refer to a tradesman who dealt in *ἱμάτια ἄγναφα*. One wonders if there is a relation between the type of cloth referred to and St. John Prodromos's attire. For the Prodromos, after all, wore the ultimate in unworked "new cloth".

7. **Constantine (XI c.)**

No. 26. — D. 27 × 24 mm. W. 14.34 g. Fig. 7.
Unpublished.
Obv. Half-length representation of the prophet Zacharias, blessing (r. hand) and holding a box (l. hand). Partial remains of a columnar inscription at l. : |Φ|Ζ|Α. At. r., a columnar inscription :
Χ|Α|ΡΙ|Α.: *Προ]φ(ήτης) Ζαχαρία(ς).* Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of four lines followed by decoration :
K̄ЄRO|HΘHTΩ|ÇΩΔ`KΩṆ|.TA.T|-·-. Border of dots.

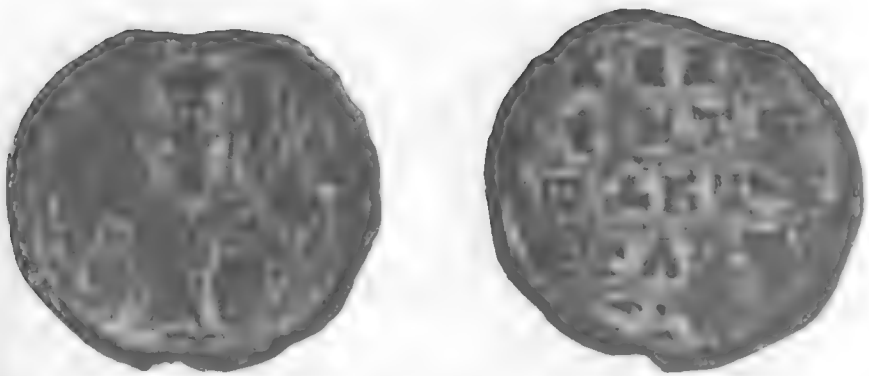


Fig. 7.

K(ύρι)ε βοήθη τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Κων[σ]τα[ν]τ(ίνῳ).

Representations on seals of Old Testament figures are quite rare. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, Berne, 1984, no. 671, has published the seal of a certain Petronas bearing on the obverse a facing bust of the Prophet Elias carrying in his l. hand a box (undoubtedly) of incense (and not, as Zacos describes, a model of a church).

8. Aple[pha?]rtes patrikios and strategos (XI c.)

No. 22. — D. 28 mm. W. 18.53 g. Fig. 8.
Ex-Lanz, Auction 64, June 7, 1993, lot 1017.
Obv. Half-length representation of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a large, round shield (l. hand) decorated along the edges

Fig. 8.

with triangles. Inscription in two columns :
ΘΙΔΗΙΜΙΗ-ΤΙΡΙΙΟΙC: *Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Δημήτριος*. Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded by decoration :
-+-ΙΚ̄ЄΡΟΗ.ΙΤѠCѠΔ.ΙΛѠΑΠ̣ΛΗ..ΙΡΤΗΠ̄Ρ̣Ι̣Κ̣.ΙCΤ̄ΡΤΗ.Ѡ. Border of dots.

Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δ[ού]λῳ Ἀπλη[φά]ρτῃ π(ατ)ρικ(ίῳ), στρ(α)τη[γ]ῷ.

The name is not wholly certain. J. Seibt in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 89.1 (1996), 321, has suggested the name Aplesirtes. It has been restored here according to an 11th-century seal found in the Dumbartron Oaks collection (DO 55.1.2622). The specimen bears the name ʻΑΠΛΗ.ΑΡΤ: *Ἀπλη[φ]άρτης* ? It has on the obverse a bust of St. George and gives its owner's titles as protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou and strategos. Same person ?

9. Euthymios (?) bishop of Trakoula (IX c., first half)

No. 147. — D. 27 mm. W. 19.11 g. Fig. 9.
Unpublished.
Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram ; in the quarters : ΤѠ|CѠ|ΔȣΙΛѠ. Wreath border.
Rev. Inscription of four lines : +ЄVΘ̣Ι|Μ̣Η̣ѠЄΠΙC|ΚΟΠѠΤΡΑ|ΚΟVΛ. Wreath border.

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Εὐθιμήῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Τρακούλ(ων).

The owner's title and episcopal see are clearly imprinted. After the first two letters of the name we seem to see a rounded letter followed

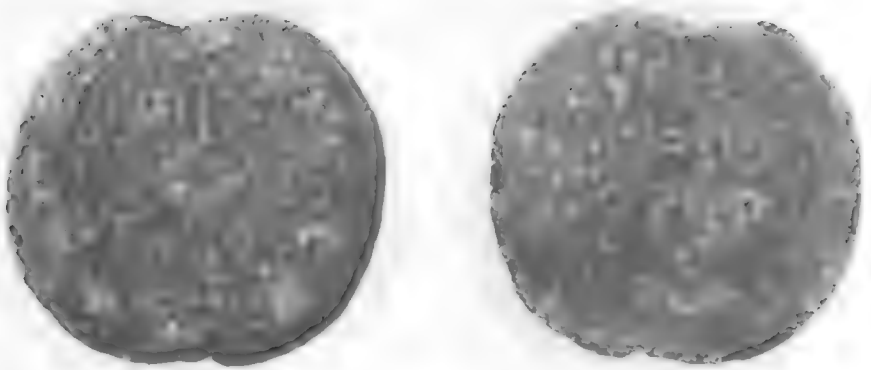


Fig. 9.

by a vertical bar, thus eliminating the name Eumathios. Trakoula was a suffragan bishopric of Sardis of Lydia (see *Notitia* 10 of J. DARROUZÈS's *Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Paris, 1981, p. 313, line 121 : *Τρακούλων*). A bishop Leo was a signatory at the Council of 787 and a bishop Constantine was in attendance at the Council of 879 (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, I, p. 182).

10. George Hexamilites, spatharokandidatos, protonotarios and judge of Seleukeia (XI c.)

No. 30. — D. 28 mm. W. 12.09 g. Fig. 10.
Unpublished.
Obv. Half-length representation of the Virgin. One can discern her r. hand held palm outward before her. At l. and r., the usual sigla : M̅P̅-Θ̅V̅. Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of seven lines preceded by decoration :
-+-|ΘΚΕΡ,Θ,|ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ|.ΠΑΘΑΚ,ΔΔ,|.ΝΟΤΑΡ,Ϛ|.ΡΙΤΗϹΕ|.Ε̣ΥΚ,ΤΩ|.ΖΑΜ,Λ̣|-·-.
Border of dots.

Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Γεωργίῳ [σ]παθα(ρο)κ(αν)δ(ι)δ(άτῳ), [(πρώτο)]νοταρ(ίῳ) (καὶ) [κ]ριτῇ Σε[λ]ευκ(είας) τῷ [Ἑ]ξαμ(ι)λ(ίτῃ).

In the 11th century, a John Hexamilites served as judge of the Opsikion, and a Sergios Hexamilites exercized the function judge of

FIG. 10.

the Thrakesioi. See J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 3, Washington, DC, 1996, nos. 39.14 and 2.27, respectively.

11. **Emperor Heraclius and his father (ca. October 610)**

No. 5a — D. 32 mm. W. 11.88 g. Fig. 11.
Unpublished.
Obv. Full-length figure of the Virgin, nimbate, wearing a chiton and maphorion, with a full-length figure of Christ before her. On either side of her, a long cross potent. Wreath border.
Rev. On the l., facing, beardless bust of Emperor Heraclius. On the r., facing, bearded bust of Heraclius' father, the exarch Heraclius. Each wears consular dress and a crown with pendilia and trefoil ornament. Between their heads a cross. Remains of a circular inscription, beginning at l. : ..ϵRACΛI-OPRPAVC. Dot border.

The portraits on this seal are identical to those of Exarch Heraclius and his son, Heraclius (the future emperor), as they appear on the Interregnum coinage struck between the summer of 608 and the fall of 610 (9). We recall here that in 608 Heraclius, the exarch of Africa, raised the standard of revolt against Emperor Phokas. Niketas, the son of his brother Gregoras, was sent to secure Egypt, which he accomplished in 609-610. Following Egypt's capture, the exarch then dispatched his son Heraclius from Carthage, with a fleet, to capture Constantinople. After the city's fall and Phokas's execution, the younger Heraclius was crowned emperor on October 7, 610, by Patriarch Sergios. According to the chronicler John of Nikiu, Emperor Heraclius's father, the exarch Heraclius, died in Carthage sometime close to the moment of Phokas's fall from power (10). The usual portraits on the insurrectionary coinage are uncrowned, in keeping with the anomalous circumstances of its issue. Nonetheless, a few late issues of folles struck at Alexandretta and Cyprus (see, for example, *DOC* 17) (11) do bear crowned busts. Thus the iconography of father and son wearing crowns is not unknown.

(9) The most complete study of this coinage remains P. GRIERSON's article *The Consular Coinage of 'Heraclius' and the Revolt against Phocas of 608-610*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. VI, 10 (1950), pp. 71-93.

(10) For a biographical notice on Exarch Heraclius, see J. R. MARTINDALE, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, IIIA, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 584-586.

(11) GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, II.1, p. 215.

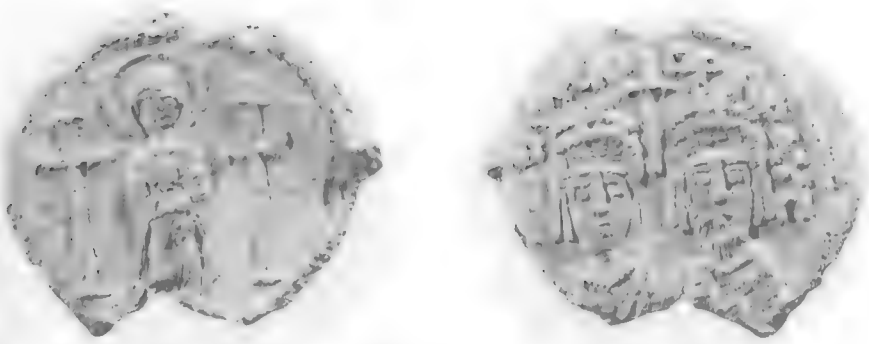


FIG. 11.

In instances where two portraits are shown on the coinage, Byzantine protocol demanded that the figure on the spectator's left occupy the place of honor. On the insurrectionary coinage (as on our seal) the figure occupying this place is the younger Heraclius, an indication, Grierson has argued, that Heraclius was the intended sovereign (12).

The figures on *DOC* 17 are accompanied by an inscription reading : ƆMNERACLIOCONSULII. The inscription is of a piece with legends on other insurrectionary issues. As Grierson observes, the inscriptions are "in the name of Heraclius, either in the singular or in the plural and normally in the dative case, with a consular title but no imperial one" (13). Referring back to the inscription on our seal, we note that the name here terminates as well in the dative case (14). But we also observe that, unlike the inscription on *DOC* 17, where Heraclius is spelled with a Latin -L, the name here is spelled with a Greek -Λ. This is a feature of insurrectionary issues from Carthage (see Fig. 11A), including gold, silver, and copper. Thus, our seal combines elements that are found on issues of Carthage as well as Alexandretta and Cyprus.

(12) *The Consular Coinage of 'Heraclius' and the Revolt against Phocas of 608-610*, p. 81.

(13) *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, II.1, p. 207.

(14) The use of the dative implies a conjunction with a word such as *Victoria* or *Vita* and indicates that an exclamatory formula is understood. This had been employed on copper of Justin II from Carthage (*DOC* 198-203 : A. BELLINGER, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, I, 255-257). See GRIERSON's remarks in *The Consular Coinage of 'Heraclius' and the Revolt against Phocas of 608-610*, p. 72. Its use here is perfectly appropriate to the optimistic mood following the overthrow of Phokas. After the revolt, the dative is regularly used on coins of Heraclius issued at Carthage.

Fig. 11A.

A major difference between our seal and the insurrectionary coinage lies in the use of the imperial title PRPAVC (15). It is evident that the boulloterion which was used to create our seal was carved soon after Heraclius's coronation, but why was the die cutter asked to pair Heraclius's portrait with a representation of Heraclius's father? We would suggest that one probable reason was a desire on Heraclius's part to pay homage to his father, the man who had lent his constant support and advice during the two years of the revolt. Just as their busts had appeared together on coinage issued during the revolt, so, at the moment of triumph, Heraclius elected to place his father's bust on the imperial seal.

12. **Hervé Frangopoulos, magistros, vestes, stratelates of the Anatole (XI c., second half)**

No. 68. — D. 36 mm. W. 26.37 g. Fig. 12.
Unpublished. For a similar specimen, but from a different boulloterion, see G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884, p. 659.
Obv. Half-length representation of St. Peter holding a long cross staff (r. hand). Inscription in two columns: ⊛|Π|Є-Τ|Ρ|Ο.: *Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Πέτρο(ς).* Border of dots.

(15) The abbreviation PRP (*perpetuo*) is not used on insurrectionary coinage, but Heraclius's first solidi as emperor carry over the PЄR from Phokas's reign; this is soon replaced by PP (see *DOC*, I-2: Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, II.1, pp. 244-245). PЄRP is also employed on early copper from Cyzicus (*DOC*, 167-171: Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, II.1, pp. 321-324).

FIG. 12.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines, the last two letters between horizontal bars :

ЄΡΡЄΡΙѠ|ΜΑΓΙCΤΡѠ|ΡЄCΤΗSCΤΡ|ΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΤΗ,|ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΤѠ|Φ̣ΡΑΓΟΠΟ|-ΛѠ-

Border of dots.

Ἑρβερίῳ μαγίστρῳ, βέστῃ (καὶ) στρατηλάτῃ τῆ(ς) Ἀνατόλη(ς) τῷ Φραγοπόλῳ.

The owner was undoubtedly the famous Norman mercenary, Hervé Frangopoulos. In 1056, he requested from Michael VI the title of magistros, but was denied. Evidently he received the title as a result of supporting Isaac I (1057-1059). It would seem from a remark in the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa that he was arrested for treason and executed about 1063. See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York-Oxford, 1991, p. 922.

13. **John Hexamilites, protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou, judge of Seleukeia and kourator of Tarsos (XI c.)**

No. 34. — 3 × 30 mm. W. 20.36 g. Fig. 13.

Unpublished.

Obv. Half-length representation of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. At l. and r., the usual sigla : M̄P-Θ̄V. Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines, the final letter between two horizontal bars :

ΚЄΡ,Θ,|ѠĀCΠΑΘ,Є|ΠΙΤѠX̄Γ̄ΚΛ|ΚΡΙΤ,CЄΛЄV|Κ,ΚЄΚѠ̣ΡΑΤ,|ΤΑΡCѠΤѠ|ЄΖΑΜΙΛ|Τ,.

Border of dots.

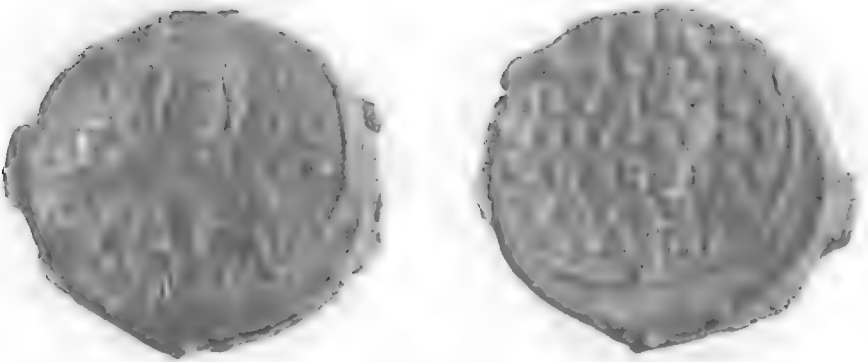


FIG. 13.

K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Ἰ]ω(άννῃ) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρ(υσο)(τρι)κλ(ίνου), κριτ(ῇ) Σελευκ(είας) κε κουράτ(ορι) Ταρσοῦ τῷ Ἑξαμιλ(ί)τ(ῃ).

The owner might possibly be the same John Hexamilites remembered on two eleventh-century seals with the title patrikios-hypatos and the function of judge of the Hippodrome and of the Opsikion. See NESBITT and OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Art Museum*, 3, no. 39.14.

14. **John diakonos and koubouklеisios (XI c., first half)**

No. 31. — D. 21 mm. ; field : 16 mm. W. 5.20 g. Fig. 14.
Unpublished.

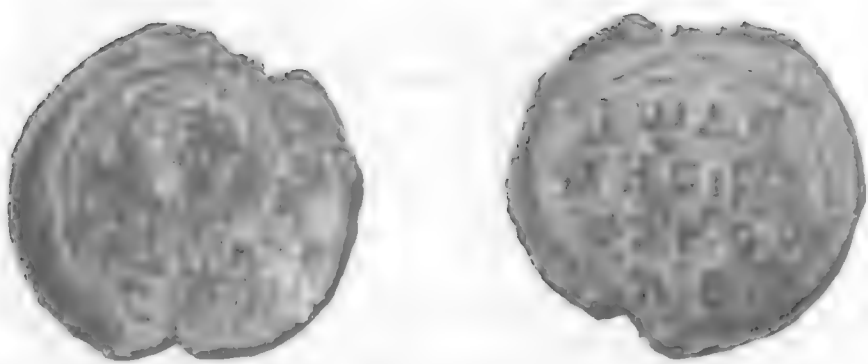


FIG. 14.

Obv. Bust of St. John Chrysostomos, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Inscription in two columns : ⊙|ΙΩ-.|..|..|.: *Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) [ὁ Χρ(υ)σόστομ(ος)].* The figure is dressed as a bishop. Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines : ΙΩΔ`Κ,|ΤΗCΜΕ|Κ.SΚΟV|ΡΗ. Border of dots.

Ἰω(άννης) δ(ιά)κ(ονος) τῆς Μ(ε)γ(άλης) Ἐκ(κλησίας) (καὶ) κουβου(κλείσιος).

15. John vestarches, grand chartoularios, judge of the Velum and of the Thrakesioi (XI c., second half)

No. 35. — D. 31 mm. W. 18.18 g. Fig. 15.

Ex-Sternberg, *Auction* XXVII, November 7-8, 1994, lot 651. Similar specimen in the Zarnitz Collection.

Obv. The Virgin seated on a backless throne with Christ on lap ; at l. and r., the usual sigla : ..-ΘV.

Around, circular inscription between a double border of dots, beginning at 12 o'clock :

+ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΙΩΡΕCΤΑΡΧΗ.....ΧΑΡΤΟV,

Rev. Half-length representation of St. George holding a spear (r. hand). Visible in column at l. : ⊙|Γ|Ε: *Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Γε[ώργιος].* Around, circular inscription between a double border of dots, beginning at 12 o'clock : ΚΡΙΤΗ.....ΟVΚΑΙΤΩΝΘΡΑΚΗCΙΩΝ.

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) Ἰω(άννῃ) βεστάρχῃ, [μεγάλῳ] χαρτου(λαρίῳ), κριτῇ [τοῦ βήλ]ου καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκησίων.

Fig. 15.

The owner of this specimen may be the same John vestarches, judge of the Velum and of the Thrakesioi whose seal is preserved in the Fogg Art Museum Collection (see NESBITT and OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 3, no. 2.15).

16. **Leo Apokaukes, protospatharios and strategos (XI c.)**

No. 36. — D. 19 m. W. 11.14 g. Fig. 16.
Unpublished.
Obv. Half-length representation of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Visible at r. : Ǎ: *[M(ι)χ(αὴλ)] ἀ(ρ)χ(άγγελος).* Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of six lines :
CΦΡΑΓ,|ΛЄѠΝΤ,|ĀCΠΑΘΑΡ|SCΤΡΑΤ,|Γ,ΤѲΑΠΟ|ΚΑVΚѲ̣. Border of dots.

Σφραγ(ὶς) Λέωντ(ος) (πρωτο)σπαθαρ(ίου) (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(οῦ) τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου.

A similar seal, but with slightly different lettering (*Ἀποκάφκου*), is published in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, 2, Washington, DC, 1992, pp. 222-224.

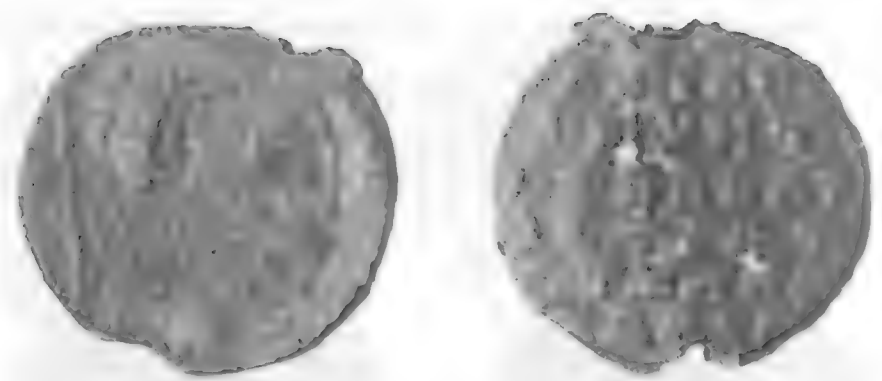


FIG. 16.

17. **Leo (VII c.)**

No. 117. — 26 × 24 mm. W. 15.59 g. Fig. 17.
Ex-CNG, Sale XXXI, September 9-10, 1994, lot 1863.
Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram ; in the quarters : ΤѠ-ΔȣΙΛѠ-Cȣ. Wreath border.

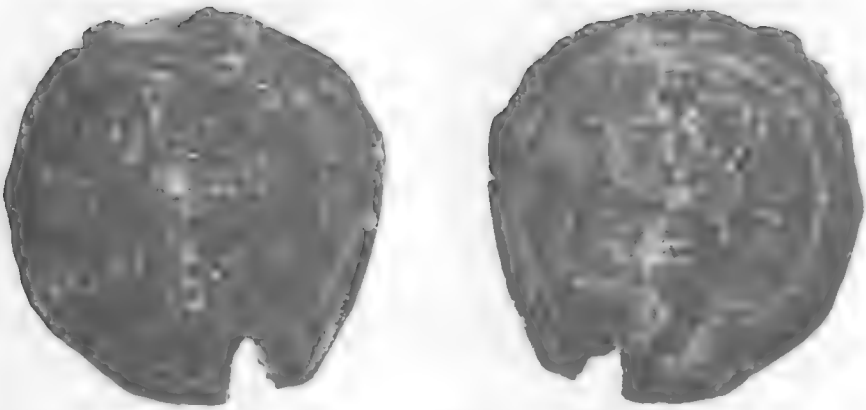


FIG. 17.

Rev. Eagle, head r. ; above, within a wreath, a cruciform monogram consisting of the letters
Λ, Ε, Ν, Τ and Ο: *Λέοντι*. At l. and r. of the monogram, a small cross. Wreath border.

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου Λέοντι.

18. **Manikaites (XIII c.)**

No. 38. — 35 × 39 mm. W. 33.09 g. Fig. 18.
Ex-Sternberg *Auction*, no. XXVI, November 16, 1992, lot no. 510. A specimen from the same boulloterion in the Zacos Collection. See

FIG. 18.

Studies in Byzantine Sigillography, ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, 3, Washington, DC, 1993, p. 207.
Obv. St. George standing, holding spear (r. hand), his l. hand set on shield resting on ground.
Inscription in two columns : Ο|Α|ΓΙ|ΟϹ-ΓΕ|ѠΡ|ΓΙ|Ο|Ϲ: *Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος*. Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of six lines :
ϹΦΡΑΓΙΔΟϹ|ΕΓΜΑΕΙΟΝ|ΑΛΗΘȣϹΦΕΡѠΝ|ΓΡΑΦΑϹΕΠΙ|ϹΦΡΑΓΙΖΕΜΑ|ΝΙΚΑΙΤȣ. Border of dots.

Σφραγῖδος ἐγμαεῖον ἀληθοῦς φέρων γραφὰς ἐπισφράγιζε Μανικαίτου.
Two twelve-syllable verses. Note *ἐγμαεῖον* instead of *ἐκμαγεῖον*.

19. **Manuel Komnenodoukas (XII c.)**

No. 39. — D. 34 mm. W. 23.12. Fig. 19.
Unpublished. Parallel specimen ? : LAURENT, *Bulles métriques*, no. 243.
Obv. St. Merkourios standing, holding a spear (r. hand), the l. hand resting on a shield set on ground. Inscription in two columns : Ο|Α|ΟϹ|Γ|Ι-ΜΕΡ|ΚΟV|ΡΙ|ΟϹ: *Ὁ ἅγιος Μερκούριος*. Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded by a cross :
+|ΜΑΡΤVϹ|ΜΑΝΟVΗΛ|ΚΟΜΝΗΟΔȣ|Ḳ̣ΑΝϹΚΕ|ΠΟΙϹ. Border of dots.

Μάρτυς Μανουὴλ Κομνηνοδούκαν σκέποις.

Twelve-syllable verse. For the dating, note the horseshoe-shape of the *omicron-upsilon* ligature at the end of line 3. It ceased to be used after the middle of the 12th century. See N. OIKONOMIDES, *Dated*

FIG. 19.

Byzantine Lead Seals, Washington, DC, 1986, Table. Consequently Polemis is probably incorrect in ascribing the seal published by Laurent to the 13th century (D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London, 1968, p. 90, n. 11).

20. **Rouphinios (bishop) of Pergamon (VI c.)**

No. 87. — 27 × 31 mm. W. 14.15 g. Fig. 20.
Unpublished.
Obv. In center, above, a bust (presumably of the Virgin) ; in center, below, a cruciform monogram consisting of the letters Δ, Ω, Ρ, C and ϑ. Inscription in two columns : Τ|ΙC|ΘЄ|Ω-Τ|ΟΚ|Ο|V: *τῖς Θεωτόκου.* Wreath border.
Rev. Inscription of four lines : ΡΟVΦ|ΙΝΙΟΝΠ|ЄΡΓΑΜ|ΟV. Wreath border.
Ῥουφινιον Περγάμου.
Ῥουφινιον Περγάμου.

This is the earliest seal of the church of Pergamon published to date. One may reasonably assume that the figure represented on the obverse is the Virgin inasmuch as the bust's head is surrounded by a halo and the Thetokos is specifically mentioned. The meaning of the monogram below the bust of the Virgin is problematic. It is possible that one element in the monogram is the word *δοῦλος* ("..servant of the Theotokos"). The name of the prelate is probably misspelled and should read Rouphinos.

FIG. 20.

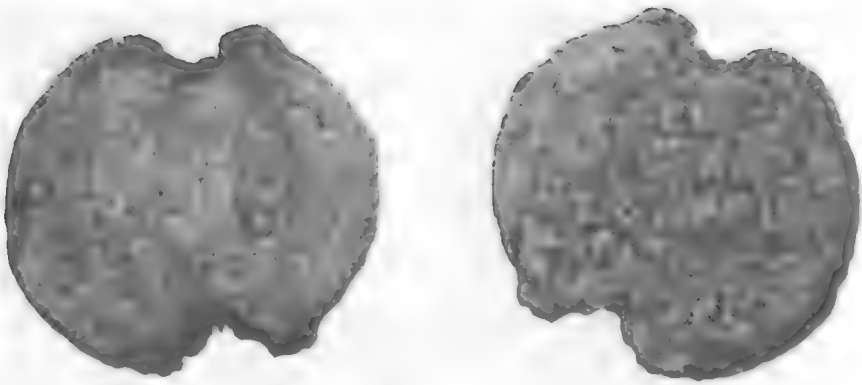


FIG. 21.

21. **Sergios chartoularios and discussor (VII c.)**

No. 130 — 27 × 29 mm. ; field : 21 mm. W. 15.30 g. Fig. 21.
Ex-Lanz, *Auction* 64, June 7, 1993, lot 1009.
Obv. Eagle, head r. ; cruciform invocative monogram above. Wreath border.
Rev. Inscription of five lines :
+CЄP|ГIѠXAP|TϑΛAPIѠ|SΔICKϑ|OPI+. Wreath border.
Κύριε βοήθει Σεργίῳ χαρτουλαρίῳ (καὶ) δισκού[σσ]ορι.

22. **Theodore protospatharios, epi tou manglaviou (XI x., second half)**

No. 44. — D. 26 mm. W. 15.05 g. Fig. 22.
Unpublished.

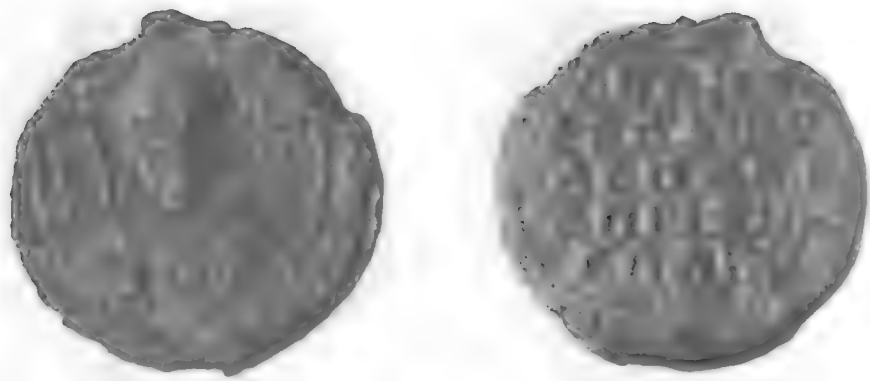


FIG. 22.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding spear (r. hand) and round shield with pellet decoration along the edge (l. hand). Inscription in two columns : ⊛|Θ|Є-Ω|Δ,|Ρ,:⁝ *Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Θεώδ(ω)ρ(ος).* Border of dots.
Rev. Inscription of five lines followed by decoration :
+K̄ЄR,Θ,|ΘЄΟΔΩΡ,|ĀCΠΑΘ,Ρ,|ЄΠΙΤΨΜΑ|ΓΛΑR,Ψ|-·:·-. Border of dots.

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοδώρ(ῳ) (πρωτο)σπαθ(α)ρ(ίῳ), ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβ(ί)ου.

In origins, the *manglavitai* were members of an imperial bodyguard whose duties often involved crowd control. The title ceased to exist by the end of the eleventh century, by which time it had become honorary (see Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 328). Due to the difference between the obverse and the reverse with regard to the spelling of the name Theodore, it is quite possible that either two different engravers worked on the boulloterion or that a single engraver worked from two different exemplars of what the owner expected in the way of decoration and inscriptions.

23. **Theophilos imperial protospatharios and eparch (X c., second half)**

No. 126. — D. 33 mm. ; field : 26 mm. W. 18.77 g. Fig. 23.
Unpublished.
Obv. A patriarchal cross on four steps with -X at the crossings and vine tendrils arising from the base up to the second horizontal bar ; in the two upper quarters, a cross composed of four dots (·:·). Around, a circular inscription beginning at 7 o'clock : +ΚЄΡΟΗΘЄΙΤΩCΩΔΟVΛΩ. Border of dots.

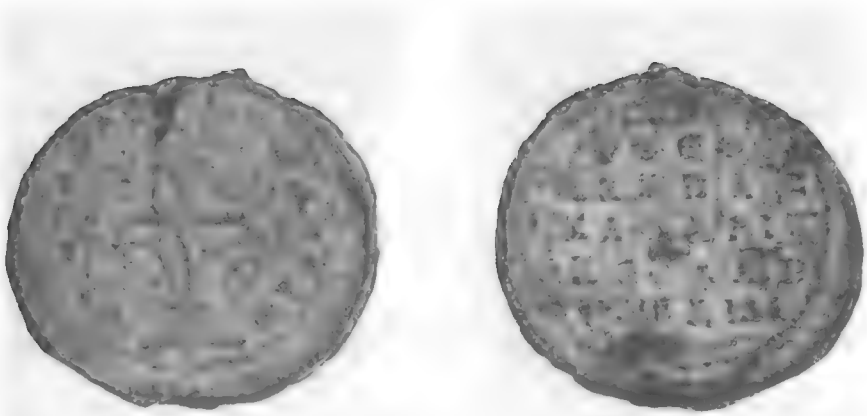


Fig. 23.

Rev. Inscription of five lines :
+ΘЄΟΨ|ΙΛΩR·Α·C|ΠΑΘΑΡΙΩ|ΚЄЄ̣Π̣ΑΡ|ΧΩΑΜΗ.

Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοφίλῳ β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθαρίῳ κε ἐπάρχῳ, ἀμή(ν).

Zacos (*Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, Berne, 1984, no. 328) has published a seal of the 10th century with the same name and titles.

24. **..p.os imperial spatharios and komes tes kortes of the Anatolikoi (VIII c.)**

No. 123. — D. 23 mm. W. 12.88 g. Fig. 24.
Unpublished.
Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram ; in the quarters : .ω-CΩ|Δȣ-ΛΩ.
No visible border.
Rev. Inscription of five lines followed by decoration :
..Π.|ΩΒ·CΠΘ|ΚΟ·ΤΗCΚ|ΟΡΤΗCΤΟ|ΝΑΝΑΤΟ|⸜+⸝. No visible border.

Κύριε or *Θεοτόκε βοήθει [τ]ῷ σῷ δούλῳ ..π.ῳ β(ασιλικῷ) σπ(α)θ(αρίῳ) [(καὶ)] κὸ(μιτι) τῆς κορτῆς τον Ἀνατο(λικῶν).*

Fig. 24.

25. **..nakios imperial spatharios and komes tes kortes of Sicily (IX c., first half)**

No. 145. — D. 29 mm. W. 20.88 g. Fig. 25.
Unpublished.

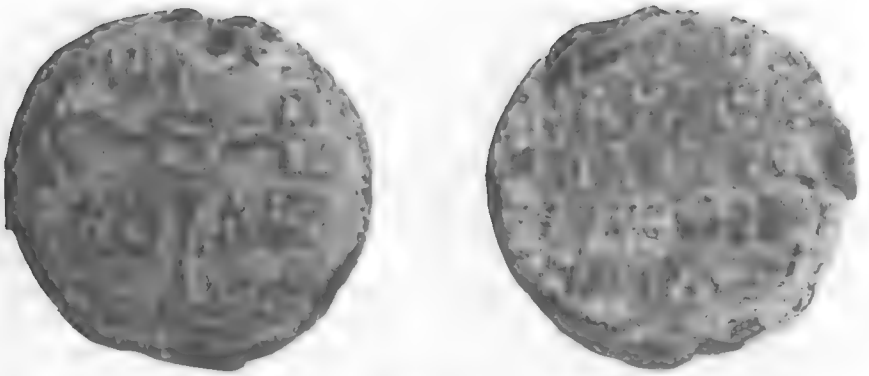


FIG. 25.

Obv. Cruciform invocative monogram ; in the quarters : .ω-..|ΔȣΛω.
Wreath border.
Rev. Inscription of five lines : ...CỊ|NAKIωḂ|.ΠAΘSKOṂ|HTITHÇḲ.|T⁄CIKЄΛ.
Wreath border.

Κύριε or *Θεοτόκε βοήθει [τ]ῷ [σῷ] δούλῳ ...σι.νακίῳ β(ασιλικῷ) [σ]παθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) κόμητι τῆς κ[όρ]τ(ης) Σικελ(ίας)*

The name is not easily restored. In line 1 the letter after the S consists of at least one vertical line.

26. .. **(XI c.)**

No. 79. — D. 27 mm. W. 17.95 g. Fig. 26.
Unpublished. Overstruck.

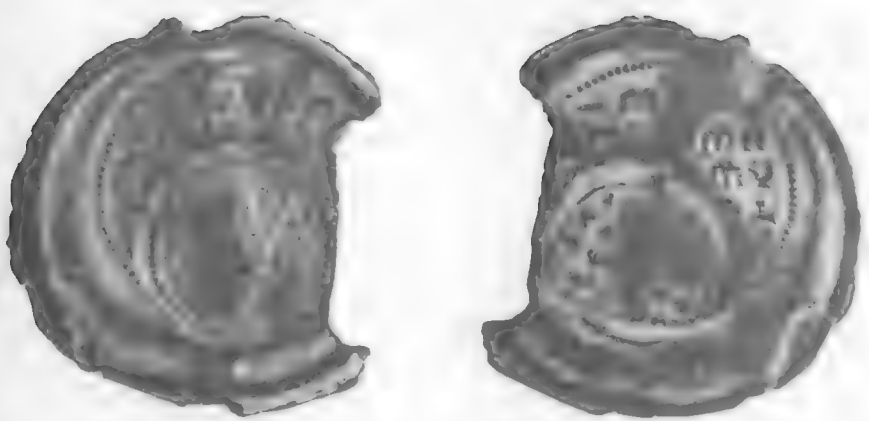


FIG. 26.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas ; details obscure. Inscription in two columns : ⊗|NI|K.-Λ|AO|C : *Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Νικ(ό)λαος*. Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of (four ?) lines :

+|AΓIЄNI|K.ΛAЄR.Θ.|TUCѠΔϑ|..... Border of dots.

Ἅγιε Νικ(ό)λαε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού[λῳ ...]

The understrike features a half-length representation of a saint blessing (r. hand) and holding a martyr's cross (l. hand). Partial remains of a columnar inscription at l. : OC|O.'. At r., one sees the columnar inscription : NЄOC. On the reverse still remain intact some letters of an inscription of five lines : +....|TѰ....|ΛѠÇ|....|NѠMON.|-XѠ-: *[Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ [σῷ δού]λῳ Σ[τεφά]νῳ μον[α]χῷ*. The saint depicted on the obverse may be St. Stephen the Younger.

University of Cincinnati. Michael BRAUNLIN.
Dumbarton Oaks. John NESBITT.

UN *GRAMMA* INÉDITO RELATIVO A ALGUNAS PROPIEDADES EN CALCÍDICA (*CA.* 1342-46 ?) (*)

El documento que presentamos en estas páginas se ha conservado como último folio (f. 358v) del *Vaticanus gr.* 1030, cuyo carácter de manuscrito no catalogado explica lo inédito del documento. El códice, que contiene los diálogos de Platón (1), fue copiado sobre papel occidental plegado *in folio* (280 × 210/5 mm.) (2) y sus filigranas, si bien no exactamente coincidentes con las publicadas en los repertorios, favorecen una fecha de copia ca. 1340-50, confirmada por el tipo de escritura de sus dos copistas (3).

(*) Este artículo se ha realizado gracias al proyecto PB 95-0138 de la DGICYT.

(1) La tradición textual del códice vaticano lo caracteriza en *Crito, Phaedo* y *Symposium*, como apógrafo del *Par. gr.* 1811, si bien puede presentar buenas lecturas originales, producto de una revisión erudita del texto : vid. E. Berti, *I manoscritti del Critone di Platone. Gli apografi del Venetus append. CL. IV,1 (coll. 542)*, *Hermes*, 97 (1969), p. 417 ; Id., *La traduzione di Leonardo Bruni del Fedone di Platone ed un codice greco della Biblioteca Bodmeriana*, *Museum Helveticum*, 35 (1978), pp. 129-130 y Chr. Brockmann, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Platons Symposion*, *Serta Graeca*, 2, Wiesbaden, 1992, pp. 30 y 178. Este análisis favorece una localización del *Vat. gr.* 1030 en Salónica, puesto quel el *Par. gr.* 1811 fue transcrito por un conocido difusor de las ediciones triclinianas de los trágicos, el copista del *Laur.* 31,8 (F de Esquilo), sobre el cual vid. O. L. Smith, *Studies on the Scholia on Aeschylus. I. The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius*, Leiden, 1975, pp. 10-25 y p. 225, n. 109 e Id., *Tricliniana II, C & M*, 43 (1992), pp. 187-229. La localización en Salónica de esta rama de la tradición platónica puede ser confirmada por el hecho de que a ella pertenecen los extractos conservados por el *Escurialensis* Φ.III.11 en los ff. 150-156v : estos folios, y los anteriores ff. 83-149v, fueron transcritos por Neófito Prodromeno, de quien sabemos que pasó la primera parte de su vida adulta en Salónica ; vid. H. Hunger - E. Gamillscheg - D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, 2. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs*, Viena, 1989, n° 411 y M. Cacouros, *Marginalia de Chortasmenos dans un opuscule logique dû à Prodromenos* (Vat. gr. *1018*), *REB*, 53 (1995), pp. 271-278.

(2) La distribución es como sigue : 1 f. + 14 × 4 (113) + 7 ff. (120) + 5 × 4 (160) + 1 × 3 (166) + 23 × 4 (351) + 7 ff. (357) + 1 f. (358). Las signaturas aparecen en el margen inferior interno o central de la primera y última página, y son obra de los copistas del texto.

(3) Las filigranas son : 1. "ange" del tipo M.T. 161-177 (a. 1330-1344) : ff. 1-65, 82-89, 98-174, 199-222, 231-238, 244-255, 340-357 ; "pot" sim. M.T. 6844 (a. 1343) : ff. 66-81, 90-97, 242, 335 ; "bouc" del tipo M.T. 1669 (a. 1345) : ff. 175-198, 223-

El recto del f. 358 estaría en blanco de no ser por una breve anotación (*Duc. 23 Iulii 1893 R/ a duo ...*, relativa quizá al registro del códice en la Biblioteca Vaticana), mientras que el acta aparece en el verso, copiada a lo largo de la página. La mano que lo ha transcrito es la del copista 1, a quien debemos también la copia de la obra platónica en los ff. 2-137 y 330-357 (4). Nos encontramos, pues, ante un escriba que compagina la copia de manuscritos con su trabajo como cartulario, notario o simplemente secretario.

No se ha conservado ni el comienzo ni el final del documento, siendo, probablemente, la pérdida inicial mínima y la final, mayor. Hemos reconstruido el título apoyándonos en que el texto se define a sí mismo como *γράμμα* (lín. 4, 20) (5), pero la autoridad de la que emana directamente es más dudosa, dado que el redactor alude tanto al emperador como a un anónimo «nuestro señor, gran condestable» (lín. 1, 16 y 20) de la cefale de Occidente a quien más abajo intentaremos identificar y que, en todo caso, nos remite a la administración periférica del Estado.

<Γράμμα τοῦ μεγάλου κονοσταύλου τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ περιεχούσης κεφαλῆς τῆς Δύσεως>

[1]] *<προσ>τάχθημεν καὶ ἀνετί<θημεν> παρὰ τοῦ περιπ<οθήτου> συμπεν<θέρου> τοῦ κρα<ταιοῦ> καὶ ἀ<γίου> ἡ<μῶν> αὐ<θέντου> καὶ βασιλέως <τοῦ> μεγάλου κονοσταύλ(ου) τ(ῆς) καθ<ολικῆς καὶ περιε>* [2] *χούσης κεφαλῆς, ἵνα ἀκούσωμεν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀνδρονικοπούλου κῦρ Μανουὴλ καὶ τῶν κουλαϊτῶν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ διένεξιν ἣν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλ(ήλ)(ων)* [3] *πέρι τε τοῦ Ἄνθη καὶ τῆς τούτου ἀδελφῆς Ἄννης καὶ κρίνωμ(εν) ὅσον ἂν φανείη δίκαιον ἀπὸ ἐξετάσεως. Ἰδοὺ τὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως* [4] *ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαντες ἐκτιθέμεθα ὅσον ἐφάνη ἡμῖν δίκαιον διὰ τοῦ παρόντος γράμματος. Ἔχει δὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσις οὕτως·*

230, 256, 268-270, 274 ; "deux cercles" sim. M.T. 2032 (a. 1347-48) : ff. 271, 272, 276-294, 319-334 ; "fruit : poire" sim. M.T. 4294 (a. 1348) : ff. 295-318 (pero se diferencia de la marca editada en que el círculo inferior está dividido en cuatro partes).

(4) Un fac-símil del cop. 1 en BROCKMANN, *op. cit.*, Abb. 48. El cop. 2 (ff. 137v-329v) ejemplifica el llamado "estilo geométrico" aunque la estilización se va relajando conforme avanza la copia ; *cf.* H. Chr. GÜNTHER, *The Manuscripts and the Transmission of the Palaeologan Scholia on the Euripidean Triad*, Stuttgart, 1995, p. 76.

(5) Sobre el valor general del término diplomático *γράμμα*, vid. N. SVORONOS, *Remarques sur les actes des fonctionnaires*, *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S. 559, París, 1977, p. 425.

Τὸ μὲν μέρος [5] *τοῦ Ἀνδρονικοπ(ού)λ(ου) κατεῖχεν ὑπὸ παροικίαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον τοὺς Ἀποστολίτας μετὰ τῆς ὑπολοίπου οἰκονομίας τόν τε Ἄνθην ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ τὴν τούτου* [6] *ἀδελφὴν Ἄνναν πρὸ πολλῶν ἤδη χρόνων, ὡς ἀνεφάνη ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν γεγονυίας ἐντελοῦς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκριβοῦς ἐξετάσ(εως), ὡς ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκ(ον)τα* [7] *χρόνους ἤδη γίνεσθαι τὴν νομὴν καὶ κατοχὴν τῶν τοιούτων δι' ἀπογραφικῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ τε Ἀπελμενέ, τοῦ Περγαμηνοῦ πάλιν καὶ τοῦ* [8] *Φαρισσαίου τῶν ἀπογραφέων, καὶ αὖθις τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγελῶν τοῦ Μακρηνοῦ καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου χαρτουλλαρ(ίου) τοῦ Βατάτζη, ὡς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τούτων χρόνῳ* [9] *γεννηθῆναι παῖδας ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἄννης τὸν Μιχαὴλ καὶ τὸν Ἄνθην λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ γαμβρὸν τὸν ἀγαπητόν.*

Κατέχων γοῦν κατὰ διαδοχὴν [10] *τούτους καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ σ(εβαστ)οῦ Ἀνδρονικοπ(ού)λ(ου) ὁ Ἀνδρονικόπουλος ὡς δικαιούμενος διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπογραφικῶν ἀποκαταστάσεων ἀφαιρεῖται τούτους* [11] *παρὰ τοῦ ῥηθέντος λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγελῶν ὡς κατὰ λόγον περισσείας δῆθεν τῆς οἰκονομίας αὐτ(οῦ)· ὃς δὴ λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν ὁ Μακρηνὸς* [12] *ἐγκαταλέγει καὶ συναριθμεῖ τούτους τοῖς κουλαΐταις, διὰ τὸ ἐγγράφεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ παλαιγενὲς χρυσόβουλλον <τὸ>* [13] *προσὸν τοῖς κουλαΐταις οὕτω ταχθὲν τότε καὶ διὰ τῆς γεγονυίας σημειώσεως παρὰ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀρδαμέρεως ἐξ ἀναθέσεως τοῦ περιποθ(ήτου)* [14] *θείου τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έντου) καὶ βασιλέως πρωτοσε(βάστ)ου καὶ πρωτοβεστιαρίου εἰς καθολικὴν καὶ περιέχουσαν κεφαλὴν εὑρισκομένου* [τω] *τότε τῆς Δύσεως.*

[15] *Ἀφαιρεθεὶς οὖν τούτους τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀνδρονικόπουλος ἐπὶ τὸν κρατ(αιὸν) καὶ ἅγ(ιον) ἡμῶν αὐθ(έντα) καὶ βασιλέα ἀνατρέχει καὶ θεῖον καὶ προσκυνητὸν πρόσταγ*[16]*μα ἐκεῖθεν πορίζεται πρὸς τὸν περιπόθ(η)τ(ον) συμπένθ(ε)ρ(ον) τοῦ κρατ(αιοῦ) καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έντου) καὶ βασιλ(έως) τὸν μέγαν κονοσταῦλον, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνισε, ῥη*[17]*τῶς οὕτω διοριζόμενον, ἵνα εἴπερ κατεῖχεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ παππός αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ παροικίαν τόν τε Ἄνθην καὶ τὴν Ἄνναν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν αὐτῆς δι' ἀπογραφικῆς* [18] *ἀποκαταστάσεως καὶ εἰ κατεῖχε τούτους καὶ οὗτος ὁμοίως διὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν τούτων, δεφενδευθῇ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς κἂν ὅπως δήποτε παρηκολούθησε τὸ περὶ* [19] *αὐτῶν κἂν οἷον καὶ προέβη δικαίωμα εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέχῃ τούτους ὑπὸ παροικίαν ἀνενοχλήτ(ως)· ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν εὐθὺς ἀληθοῦς ἀνα* [20] *<ζητήσεως ...> τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀναφορᾶς <κ>ατὰ πάντα καὶ γέγονεν αὐτῷ καὶ γράμμα τοῦ περιποθ(ή)τ(ου) συμπενθ(έ)ρ(ου) τοῦ κρατ(αιοῦ) καὶ ἁγ(ίου) ἡμῶν αὐθ(έντου) καὶ βασιλέως <τοῦ> μεγ(άλου) κονοστα(ύ)λου εἰς* [21] *<καθολικὴν καὶ περιέχουσαν> κ<εφαλὴν τῆς Δύσεως ... οἱ κουλα>ΐ<τ>αι α<ὐτ>ὴν <...> οὗτοι* [

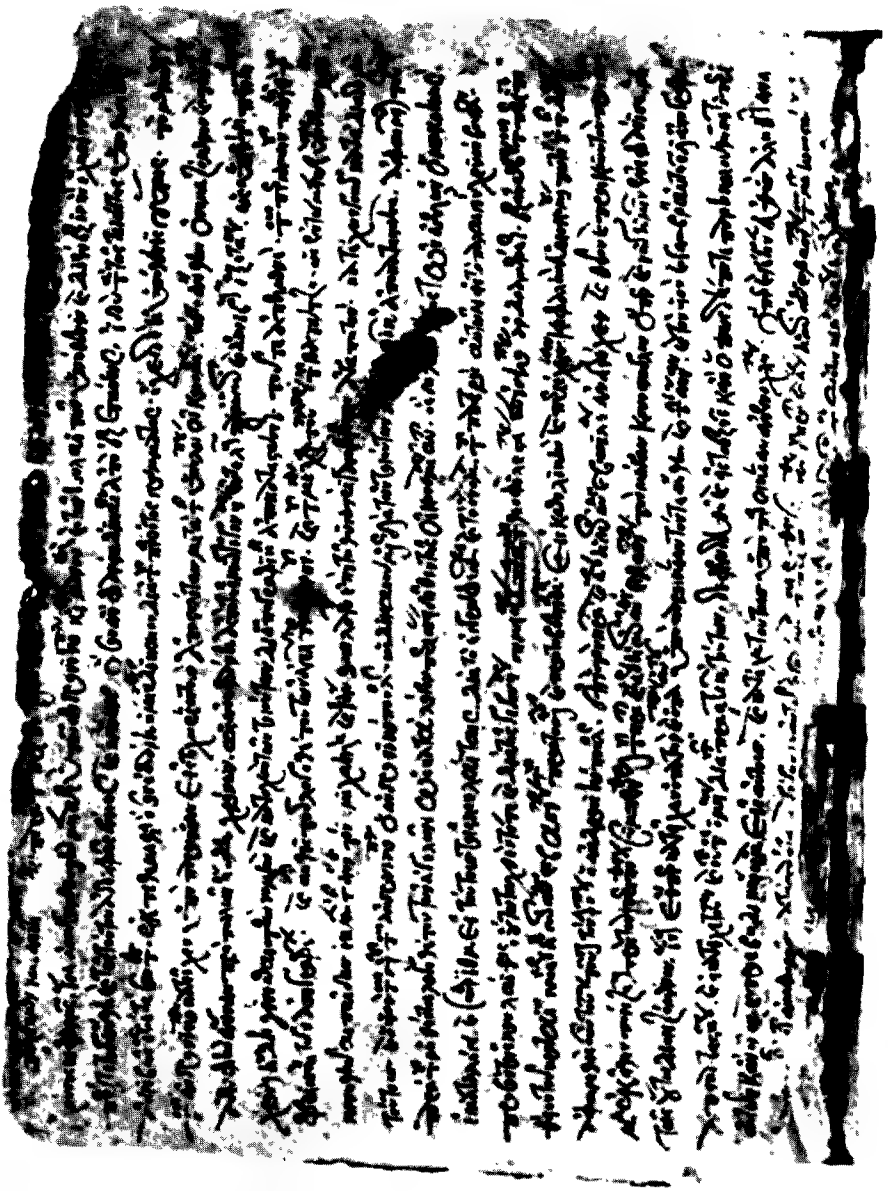
<*Gramma* del gran condestable de la general y circundante cefale de Occidente>

(*inc. mut.*) [1] ... hemos recibido el encargo del carísimo consuegro del poderoso y santo señor y emperador, el gran condestable de la general y circundante cefale, [2] de dar oído al litigio y diferendo existente entre micer Manuel Andronicopulo y los torreros que los tiene enfrentados [3] a propósito de Antes y su hermana Ana, y juzguemos a partir de la instrucción lo que pareciere justo. Aquí, por el presente *gramma*, tras la exacta indagación [4] de dicho litigio, exponemos cuanto nos parece justo. El caso es como sigue :

La parte [5] de Andronicopulo poseía en régimen de parequía en la localidad de Apostolitas, con la subsiguiente fiscalidad, al susodicho Antes y a su [6] hermana Ana desde hace ya muchos años, como queda manifiesto por la puntual y exacta indagación realizada ahora por nosotros ; hace ya más de cincuenta [7] años que existe la posesión y tenencia sobre los susodichos, en virtud del restablecimiento catastral realizado por los registradores Apelmené y luego Pergameno y [8] Fariseo y, a su vez más tarde, del superintendente pecuario Macreno y del gran cartulario Batatzes ; en el entretanto de estas actuaciones, con el tiempo, [9] nacieron hijos de Ana, y Antes, por matrimonio de su hija, tomó como yerno amado a Miguel.

Así pues Andronicopulo, hijo del augusto Andronicopulo, estando en posesión de los antedichos por sucesión, [10] como está legitimado a través de las mencionadas restituciones catastrales, se ha visto privado de aquellos [11] por obra del dicho superintendente pecuario en concepto de una presunta sobreabundancia de su renta. En efecto, este superintendente pecuario, Macreno, [12] los incluye y cuenta con los torreros, mediante el recurso de inscribir el patronímico de estos en el antiguo crisobulo [13] en favor de los torreros, así quedó también establecido entonces por la ratificación emanada del obispo de Ardamereo, carísimo al Señor, [14] por disposición del protosebasto y protovestiario de nuestro santo señor, el poderoso, carísimo y divino emperador que se hallaba por aquel entonces en la general y circundante cefale de Occidente.

[15] Andronicopulo en consecuencia, al verse privado así de sus parecos, recurre a nuestro poderoso y santo señor y emperador, de donde emana un divino y venerable *prostagma* [16] dirigido al gran condestable, carísimo consuegro de nuestro poderoso y santo señor



y emperador, orden que ahora se presenta ante nosotros determinando expresamente [17] lo que sigue : si el padre y el abuelo de Andronicopulo poseían en régimen de parequía a Antes y Ana, así como al hijo y yerno de ésta, en virtud del restablecimiento catastral, [18] y si Andronicopulo los poseía igualmente en virtud de estas actas, que vea protegidos sus derechos en lo sucesivo — aunque el asunto, de una u otra forma, haya seguido su curso [19] y aunque haya sentado derecho — y que los siga manteniendo en calidad de parecos sin que nada le perturbe. Orden que ha sido cumplida de inmediato mediante la [20] <investigación> verificadora del relato pormenorizado de Andronicopulo, el cual obtiene este *gramma* del carísimo consuegro del poderoso y santo señor nuestro y emperador, el gran condestable en [21] <la general y circundante cefale de Occidente> los torreros <...> ésta <...> éstos ... (*des. mut.*)

Comentario

La *hypothesis* del documento no presenta dificultades : se trata de un litigio por una familia de parecos que tradicionalmente perteneció a quien imaginamos como potentado local, Andronicopulo, y que fueron incluidos por un funcionario del registro a beneficio de los *koulaitas* o "torreros" (6). El documento no determina con precisión los miembros de esta familia de parecos a lo largo de las tres generaciones y los cincuenta años que parecen haber constituido el período investigado por el redactor (lín. 6-7) : la familia consta de dos hermanos, Antes y Ana (lín. 3), y de sus respectivas descendencias, de las que se menciona expresamente a una hija de Antes casada con Miguel y a unos hijos de Ana (lín. 8-9) (7).

(6) El contexto socioeconómico del documento, el de la Macedonia oriental de la primera mitad del siglo XIV, se corresponde muy bien con la naturaleza del litigio : J. LEFORT, *Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale (IXe-XVe siècle), Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire Byzantin*, vol. II, *VIIIe-XVe siècle*, V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT, C. MORRISSON eds., París, 1991, pp. 75 y ss. [y cf. *ibidem*, J. LEFORT-J.-M. MARTIN, *L'organisation de l'espace rural : Macédoine et Italie du Sud (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*, p. 25] ha detectado ciertas huellas de una crisis económica provocada quizá por el aumento demográfico y causante a su vez de cierta emigración. En este contexto, se entiende un exacerbamiento de las disputas por las rentas de parecos.

(7) No existe mención concreta de los hermanos Antes y Ana como parecos de Apostolitas, aunque las actas del Atos sí incluyen parecos homónimos ca. 1315-1325 : *PLP*, n° 983 y 984.

La residencia de esta familia se encontraba en un pueblo de la Calcídica occidental de nombre Apostolitas, situado concretamente en la comarca de Mesemerion (8). Sabemos, gracias a algunos documentos del Atos, que en la misma zona tenía posesiones en *pronoia* un Andronicopulo (9) : el acta Lavra 90 (febrero de 1300) lo menciona como poseedor de una pronoia en los alrededores de Loroton, al igual que los pronoiarios Glabas y Quimones (*Χειμώννης*) (10) ; en el acta Lavra 108 (enero de 1321), lo es junto con otro pronoiario de nombre Cerules ; las propiedades de ambos estarían al norte de Loroton y al sur de Apostolitas, pueblo al que le une la vía que baja al mar (11). Nuestro documento menciona al abuelo y al padre del "actual" Manuel Andronicopulo (lín. 17-18) a la vez que establece en un tiempo superior a cincuenta años el período del que existe registro de tales propiedades (lín. 6-7) ; resulta, pues, lícito pensar en la posibilidad de que el documento de 1300 aluda al abuelo de Manuel Andronicopulo, el de 1321 a su padre y nuestro *gramma* a él mismo.

Más difícil resulta concretar el significado de *οἱ κουλαΐται*, que puede hacer referencia bien a una población que ha tomado el nombre de la actividad de sus habitantes (torreros, del término turco *kule*, sinónimo de *πύργος*) bien a un gremio (¿amiliar?) dentro de Apostolitas (12). Un documento de la Gran Lavra menciona a dos personas

(8) J. LEFORT, *Villages de Macédoine*, 1. *La Chalcidique occidentale*, *Travaux et Mémoires, Monographies* 1, París, 1982, Cartes 4 y 11, p. 33. El *χωρίον οἱ Ἀποστολίται* es mencionado en distintas ocasiones por los documentos del Atos. Miguel Sabentzes disfrutaba allí de la renta de algunas propiedades (Xenophon 15). El acta Lavra 90, de febrero de 1300, nos proporciona el nombre de otro pareco del mismo pueblo, Constantino *Καφούρη* (lín. 148), y sugiere la proximidad de unas tierras que tiene en *pronoia* Andronicopulo y el pueblo. Sobre la utilización de "nombres sagrados" en los pueblos de la Calcídica, vid. J. LEFORT, *Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale*, esp. p. 71.

(9) No existe ninguna mención de un Manuel Andronicopulo, al menos reflejada en el *PLP*. Recordemos que nuestro pequeño terrateniente recibe el apelativo de *σεβαστός* cuando se hace mención de su hijo.

(10) Vid. *Archives de l'Athos*, vol. XI, *Actes de la Lavra*, vol. IV, París, 1982, p. 105.

(11) Vid. J. LEFORT, *Villages de Macédoine*, pp. 94 y 102, n. 2.

(12) Vid. J. LEFORT, *Villages de Macédoine*, p. 87. *kule* habría dado en griego *κουλάς* (con las variantes *γούλας*, *γουλάς*), atestiguado desde el siglo XII. En la Calcídica, hay otros casos de pueblos cuyo nombre deriva de la actividad económica de sus habitantes, como *Σιδηροκαύσεια* ; vid. J. LEFORT, *Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale*, p. 78.

con el apelativo de "torreros" en sendos pueblos del catepanicio de Calamaria, Gurnas y Sarantarea ([13]).

Una vez delimitados la geografía y los protagonistas del litigio que intenta dirimir nuestro *gramma*, veamos quiénes fueron los protagonistas de la "intervención estatal" en el proceso. En primer lugar, los *ἀπογραφεῖς* o funcionarios del registro citados (lín. 7-8) son bien conocidos en los archivos del Atos : se trata de Demetrio Apelmené (*PLP*, n° 1155), Pergameno (*PLP*, n° 22420) y Jorge Fariseo (*PLP*, n 29636), funcionarios del tema de Salónica cuya actividad se extiende, por separado o en grupo, desde 1300 hasta 1325 ([14]). El *λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν* Constantino Macreno (lín. 8) ([15]), a quien se atribuye la modificación fraudulenta del registro (lín. 11-13), es mencionado con tal cargo en un acta de Dojiaríu de septiembre de 1344 (Doch. 23), mientras que, en enero de 1338, es todavía doméstico de los temas (Xenoph. 25). De este modo, el documento emitido por él ha de ser posterior a enero de 1338 y no muy anterior al citado a continuación de Juan Batatzes (lín. 8) ([16]), que podemos fechar hacia 1342-1344, años en los que Batatzes ostentó el título de gran cartulario ([17]) ; dado que, en el verano de 1344, fue nombrado por Cantacuzeno gran estratopedarca ([18]), tal fecha es el *terminus ante quem* del último documento citado por el *gramma* y, al mismo tiempo, el *terminus post quem* de éste mismo.

Como vemos, los personajes citados con nombres y apellidos resultan familiares en la diplomática del siglo XIV ; no sucede lo mismo, sin embargo, con los personajes citados sólo por sus cargos, a quienes

(13) Lavra n° 109 (enero de 1321), lín. 21 y 56 y cf. J. LEFORT, *Villages de Macédoine*, p. 169 n. 1.

(14) Vid. P. LEMERLE, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et Rome 158, París, 1945, pp. 227-229 (Apelmené) ; pp. 230-232 (Pergameno y Fariseo) ; cf. la reseña de V. LAURENT en *REB*, 6 (1948), pp. 81-84.

(15) Vid. *PLP*, n° 16365 y P. LEMERLE, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale*, pp. 234-236.

(16) Vid. *PLP*, n° 2518 y P. LEMERLE, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale*, pp. 236-237.

(17) Vid. E. LAPPA-ZIZIKS, *Un chrysoboulle inconnu en faveur du monastère des Saints-Anargyres de Kosmidion*, *TM*, 8 (1987), pp. 255-268, esp. pp. 258-260 y V. LAURENT en *REB*, 6 (1948), pp. 74 y ss.

(18) Vid. Greg. Bonn. vol. II, p. 741 y D. M. NICOL, *The Reluctant Emperor. A Biogrphy of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk*, 1295-1383, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 70, 74 y 77.

resulta difícil dotar de una identidad, en especial en un espacio tan convulso y en un tiempo tan azaroso como la Macedonia de mediados del siglo XIV, escenario privilegiado de la guerra civil.

Así, el *gramma* alude a la *semeiosis* de un anónimo obispo de Ardamereo, emitida por orden de un protosebasto y protovestiario (lín. 13-14) ([19]), que se encontraba por entonces en la cefale de Occidente. La *semeiosis* confirmaría una falsificación realizada por Constantino Macreno en un crisobulo. No conocemos el nombre del obispo de Ardamereo en los años 40 del siglo XIV, pero dos personajes pueden ser el protovestiario aludido, Andrónico Asén ([20]) y Teodoro Sinadeno ([21]), que lo fueron en 1341 y 1344-46 respectivamente. Ambos personajes se encontraban en Salónica en 1341 (Sinadeno como arconte y *ἐπίτροπος*), colaborando con Alejo Apocauco en sus campañas contra Juan Cantacuzeno. Nada hay que nos lleve a preferir un candidato sobre otro, a no ser que consideremos 1341 como la fecha más adecuada para las andanzas de Macreno, quien fue a todas luces comprado por los "torreros" para llevar a cabo la inclusión fraudulenta. El intendente agropecuario no se limitaría a manipular el antiguo crisobulo sino que solicitaría también del protovestiario un documento confirmando el resultado de la manipulación ([22]), y el protovestiario Andrónico Asén se serviría del obispo de Ardamereo para esa tarea.

Así pues, estos hechos tuvieron lugar probablemente en 1341, pero no son los más recientes a los que alude el *gramma*, puesto que el acta de Batatzes debió de ser redactada, como hemos visto, hacia 1342-1344. La determinación de esta fecha es importante para identificar la autoridad que intenta reparar el daño causado por Macreno y de la que emana en último término el *gramma* : *ὁ μέγας κονοσταῦλος, περιπόθητος συμπένθερος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως* (lín. 1, 16, 20) ([23]).

(19) Sobre el protovestiario, vid. R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les Institutions byzantines, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten*, 35, Berlín-Amsterdam 1967, pp. 216-236.

(20) Vid. R. Guilland, *op. cit.*, p. 227 y PLP, n° 1489.

(21) Teodoro (Ducas Paleólogo Comneno) Sinadeno, *PLP*, n° 27120 ; vid. R. Guilland, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227 y Chr. Hannick-G. Schmatzbauer, *Die Synadenoi*, *JÖB*, 25 (1976), p. 137.

(22) Que fuera el obispo de Ardamereo el redactor de la *semeiosis* pedida tiene paralelos en documentos posteriores : el obispo de Ardamereo Teodosio certificó la copia de documentos atonitas entre 1361 y antes de 1416 ; vid. *Archives de l'Athos*, vol. XIII, *Actes de Docheiariou*, París, 1984, p. 206.

(23) Sobre el *μέγας κονοσταῦλος*, vid. R. Guilland, *op. cit.*, pp. 469-474 y J. Verpaux ed., *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des Offices*, París, 1966, p. 137.

El único gran condestable de la época conocido es Miguel Senacherim Monómaco ([24]), nombrado por Apocauco *μέγας κονοσταῦλος* y comandante de las tropas en la campaña de Verria (1342/43), fecha en la que ostenta igualmente el título de *κεφαλή* de Salónica, que ya había disfrutado en 1315-1332 ([25]). En favor de su identificación con el "autor" del *γράμμα* está tanto la fecha de su presencia en Macedonia (en la que tenía propiedades) ([26]) como su pertenencia al círculo de Apocauco. Por lo demás, el título de *συμπένθερος* sería explicable si tenemos en cuenta un acta de Vatopedi, con fecha de noviembre de 1376, por la que Teodora, esposa de Miguel Monómaco e hija del déspota Demetrio Paleólogo, dona al monasterio de Pródromo en Verria una parte de sus propiedades ([27]). Por otra parte, un documento patriarcal de 1393 se refiere a Miguel Monómaco como *οἰκεῖος* de Andrónico III ([28]).

De ser este personaje el gran condestable al que alude el documento, el término *post quem* de su redacción, los años 1342-44, ahora quedaría precisado con el término *ante quem* de la muerte de Monómaco, que tuvo lugar entre 1343 y 1346 ([29]). En ese supuesto y dado que el *gramma* alude a un período superior a cincuenta años sobre el que se ha encontrado en los registros información relativa a la familia de Antes y Ana (lín. 7-8) y el primer documento citado es el de Apelmené, del que se conservan actas de 1300 (Xenoph. 3-5 y Lavra 90), los cincuenta años aludidos se ajustarían *grosso modo* a los transcurridos entre 1300 y 1346.

Por último, como hemos visto, los personajes más insignes a los que alude el documento ejercen su función en la cefale de Occidente, mientras que su autor realizó una investigación exhaustiva de las actas relativas al litigio, obra de conocidos funcionarios salonicenses. Estos

(24) *PLP*, n 19306. A su figura ha consagrado un estudio exhaustivo F. BARIŠIĆ, *Mihailo Monomah, eparh i veliki konostavl*, *ZRVI*, 11 (1968), pp. 215-231.

(25) Sobre la actividad de Monómaco en Salónica tras su entrada en la ciudad en 1342 con las restantes fuerzas propaleólogas, vid. CANTAC. Bonn II, p. 236 y 356.

(26) Vid. F. BARIŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 225 n. 26, p. 228. Estas propiedades se encontraban en la región del Estrimón, en Cándace y Nision ; vid. Zograph. 29 (a. 1333).

(27) Vid. G. THEOCHARIDES, *Μία διαθήκη καὶ μία δίκη βυζαντινή*, Salónica, 1962, p. 9, n. 1.

(28) Cf. J. DARROUZÈS, *Regestes*, vol. VI, n° 2919 (documento de marzo de 1393) y N. A. BEES, *Σερβικὰ καὶ Βυζαντιακὰ γράμματα Μετεώρου*, *Byzantis*, 2 (1911/12), pp. 1-100 (p. 63).

(29) Vid. F. BARIŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 230 y n. 46.

datos constituyen indicios, si no pruebas, que nos llevan a considerar la posibilidad de que el *gramma* proceda de la administración de Salónica, donde el copista del *Vat. gr.* 1030 ejercería su profesión ([30]).

Consejo Superio de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid

Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN,
Pedro BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA.

(30) Cf. n. 1. Una mano similar a la de este escriba aparece, por ejemplo, transcribiendo el acta Lavra 139 (junio de 1361). En realidad, la inestabilidad política y material de los años de la guerra civil no tuvo por qué implicar una ausencia total de intereses culturales en una ciudad cuya vida intelectual en el s. XIV no necesita ser ponderada aquí. El propio Apocauco encargó la copia de un códice de Hipócrates que conserva su retrato (*Par. gr.* 2144); vid. J. A. MUNITIZ, *Dedicating a volume: Apokaukos and Hippocrates* (*Par. gr.* 2144), en *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Studies in Honour of R. Browning*, Venecia, 1996, pp. 267-280. Pero, probablemente, la transcripción del códice no tuvo lugar en Salónica sino en Constantinopla, puesto que uno de sus copistas es Jorge Galesiotes (ff. 13-18v, 20-24), sobre el cual vid. I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El Vaticanus* gr. 112 *y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes, Scriptorium*, 49, 1995, pp. 42-59.

MÉMOIRES

FIGHTING FOR CHRISTIANITY
HOLY WAR IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

This article began as an attempt to explain features of the Byzantine reaction to crusade, especially to the crusading indulgence, which are important and seldom noted. In discussions of Byzantium and the crusades, certain generalizations are ubiquitous, especially the claim that Byzantines could not comprehend the crusades because they themselves had no notion of holy war. Yet most Byzantine authors do not seem to me to manifest total incomprehension of holy war. They criticize specific features of crusade, but not its central premise : that God may want his people to attack the infidel with armed might. To explain the apparent conflict between my reading of the primary sources and the consensus of the secondary sources, it was necessary to describe Byzantine ideas about holy war explicitly and precisely. It was also necessary to review what other historians had said on the topic. So the project grew to what it now is : an introduction to the historiography of holy war in Byzantium ; an analysis of the explicit and implicit definitions of holy war which historians have proposed as they argued about whether Byzantium had a holy war ; and, finally, a discussion of what Byzantines saw when they looked at those holy warriors from the West, the crusaders. Only in this last section do I return to my initial topic : the crusading indulgence.

*

PART I. — *BYZANTINE HOLY WAR : HISTORIOGRAPHY AND DEFINITION*

— "*The Greeks do not have, to any degree, a notion of holy war*" (1).

— "*The crusade, invented anew by westerners, had already been for some centuries, albeit without the word, one of the permanent features of Byzantine life...*" (2).

The disagreement represented by these two quotations characterizes the historiography of Byzantine attitudes toward war in general and toward crusade in particular. To paraphrase and cite every author from the eighteenth century to the present who has analyzed this topic would be a lengthy process with little enlightenment for author or reader. Instead, what follows is a brief review of the central conflict.

In the nineteenth century, Gustave Schlumberger wrote two important histories of tenth-century Byzantine emperors : *Un empereur byzantin au xe siècle : Nicéphore Phocas* (3) and *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle. Guerre contre les Russes, les Arabes, les Allemands, les Bulgares, luttes civiles contre les deux Bardas* (4). In these two works, he presented Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and Ioannes I Tzimiskes (969-976) as proto-crusaders. Both fought wars which they believed to be commanded and sanctioned by God (5). Both fought against enemies defined in religious terms : namely, the Arab Muslims who had invaded Palestine, Syria, and eastern Asia Minor. Both were, to some degree, successful. Tzimiskes may have made the Christian recovery of Jerusalem his aim ; some evidence, which Schlumberger accepted, indicates that he succeeded (6). Schlumberger also saw

(1) P. LEMERLE, *Byzance et la croisade*, in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, vol. III : *Storia del medioevo*, Florence 1955, p. 617 (reprinted in IDEM, *Le monde de Byzance : Histoire et Institutions*, London 1978, art. VIII).

(2) R. GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades* I, Paris 1934, p. 15.

(3) Paris, 1890 (repr. Paris, 1923).

(4) Paris, 1896.

(5) See, for example, SCHLUMBERGER's account of the processions and prayers before Tzimiskes leaves on campaign in 972 : *L'épopée byzantine*, pp. 82-87

(6) Thanks to greater knowledge of Arabic histories of the tenth century, this evidence has now been entirely discredited. It is highly doubtful that Tzimiskes even considered Jerusalem a goal ; it is certain that he never captured that city. See P. E. WALKER, *The 'Crusade' of John Tzimisces in the Light of New Arabic Evidence*, in *Byz.* 47 (1977), pp. 301-327.

widespread popular support for these wars. The inhabitants of the capital resembled crusaders or, perhaps, nationalists (7). Schlumberger's portrait of Byzantine tenth-century campaigns was adopted by various French historians of crusade, including René Grousset, who provided one of the epigraphs for this essay. George Ostrogorsky, too, repeated the idea, referring to "the veritable crusading spirit" in Tzimiskes' campaigns of 974 and 975 (8).

On the other side of the debate, historians after Schlumberger generally denied the existence of a Byzantine idea of holy war. Each did so for rather different reasons, and therefore each deserves to be treated separately. In 1946, Vitalien Laurent published an article entitled, *L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine* (9). He was explicit in his definition of holy war :

> Holy war is ... a constant, spontaneous armed struggle seeking the conversion, or at least the complete submission of the infidel. It assumes a revelatory, universalist religion, and that the one who receives this religion is obliged to impose it — if necessary, by armed force — to the ends of the earth. The command to fight for the propagation of the faith falls upon the community which, called from On High to a vocation of conquest, must find in itself the strength for this offensive policy. There thus results for each member a religious duty to collaborate, at least in a general fashion, in this work of spiritual correction [*redressement*]. This kind of obligatory service remains even if the grandiose objective is never attained (10).

For Laurent, then, a holy war occurs when God commands his people to wage a war to propagate the faith. Their struggle to obey this command is constant and spontaneous. The latter quality, as becomes clear later in Laurent's discussion, indicates a level of popular enthusiasm and support. The corollaries of these assertions are several. A war which is for some other purpose than to propagate the faith, a war which is intermittent, or a war which is the result of careful,

(7) *E.g.*, *L'épopée byzantine*, p. 84 : "C'étaient là des heures de patriotique angoisse durant lesquelles les cœurs de toute cette immense multitude battaient à l'unisson de celui de son basileus bien-aimé...".

(8) *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey, New Brunswick - New Jersey 1957, p. 263.

(9) *Revue historique du sud-est européen* 23 (1946), pp. 71-98.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 73.

long-term planning — all of these seem to be excluded from the category of holy war.

Given these requirements, Laurent maintained that only Islamic *jihad* was a true holy war ([11]). In contrast, crusade was "strictly preventive and defensive" ([12]). Following contemporary historians of canon law, he stressed a difference between Muslim and Christian theories of holy war. In Islam, *jihad*, an obligation to fight holy war against those outside the "House of Islam", arose early and found its justification in the prophet's revelation and the actions of the earliest caliphs. In contrast, Christian canon law in the Middle Ages, hardly able to use Jesus' words or his disciples' actions as a call to war, presented the crusade as a just war, aimed only at recovering lands which rightfully belonged to Christians, protecting persecuted Christians, and preventing the further spread of Islam ([13]). Nevertheless, Laurent did admit that, whatever the differences in official doctrine, the two were, in practice, much alike. They used "similar means ... to arouse the enthusiasm of combatants or to stir up the interest of lords and princes...". More importantly, they shared a "fundamental trait..., the theory of martyrdom in which heaven — an immediate and glorious heaven — is offered to whoever dies in battle against the infidel" ([14]).

As for Byzantium, Laurent argued that the Byzantines had no idea of holy war because of flaws in their character : cowardice, pedantry, fatalism, "moral inertia", and other traits familiar to readers of Edward Gibbon. Confronted with the threat of Islam, Laurent wrote, medieval Christianity reacted in two ways. First, there was the "negative" attitude of Byzantium, "obstinately refusing to fight for its faith". Then there was the "dynamic" solution of the West, which managed to make up for Byzantium's "deficiency" ([15]).

For the purposes of this essay, two features of Laurent's analysis are important. First, he delineates several criteria for holy war : God's command, the enemy's irreligion, constant struggle, popular support, and a belief in heavenly rewards. Second, he insists that Byzantium met none of these requirements and waged nothing resembling a holy war. We will return to these points.

(11) *Ibid.*
(12) *Ibid.*, p. 77.
(13) *Ibid.*
(14) *Ibid.*, p. 78.
(15) *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 86, 92.

Several later scholars agreed with Laurent's conclusion — that Byzantines had no idea of holy war — but disagreed with his reasoning, especially with his assessment of Byzantine character. For example, the first quotation at the head of this essay comes from Paul Lemerle's article, *Byzance et la croisade*. In spite of his sweeping statement about Greeks having no idea whatsoever of holy war, Lemerle did not define holy war in general. He argued only that Byzantines had no idea of crusade. He defined crusade as a military pilgrimage to deliver the Holy Land and eastern Christians, under the authority of the Church as openly declared by a papal bull, with specific temporal and spiritual benefits for participants. That Byzantium had no such idea needed no further argument and therefore, he urged, we should not speak of Byzantine "crusades" : "To use metaphorically [*littérairement, avec valeur d'image*] terms which must have a very precise meaning, brings only confusion, not enlightenment, to historical problems" ([16]). In spite of a certain level of agreement with Laurent, Lemerle explicitly disagreed with Laurent's statements about Byzantine character : "This [absence of a crusade idea] among them is not the result of 'moral inertia', but an unchanging and specific property of Greek orthodoxy" ([17]). In this last statement, Lemerle raised the issue which has dominated the historiography of Byzantium and the crusades since : namely, that fundamental features of the ideology and institutions of the Greek East prevented the development of a crusading ideal. We will return to this point.

Following Laurent, Lemerle, and others, few historians would today agree with Schlumberger or with Ostrogorsky's claim of a "veritable crusading spirit". But one can deny that Byzantine wars were, in any sense, crusades, while maintaining nevertheless that they were a different, uniquely Byzantine sort of holy war. Among those who make an intelligent, well-reasoned argument for the existence of a particular *genre* of holy war in Byzantium is Athena Kolia-Dermitzakè ([18]). In her recent book, she criticizes the many discussions of Byzantine "holy war" which take western crusade as the model — as if the only kind of holy war was the crusade. Using Islamic *jihad* as her other example,

(16) LEMERLE, *Byzance et la croisade*, p. 614, n. 1.

(17) *Ibid.*, p. 618. "Moral inertia" is LAURENT's phrase, *L'idée de guerre sainte*, p. 92.

(18) *Ὁ βυζαντινὸς «ἱερὸς πόλεμος». Ἡ ἔννοια καὶ ἡ προβολὴ τοῦ θρησκευτικοῦ πολέμου στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens, 1991.

she argues convincingly that different societies can develop different kinds of holy war.

Beginning with a discussion of the precise features of crusade and *jihad*, Kolia-Dermitzakè goes on to argue that Byzantium, too, had a form of holy war, which both resembled and differed from the other two. She is explicit about the characteristics which make some Byzantine wars holy wars : the enemy must be non-Christian ; the enemy must have persecuted Christians in some way ; and the territories fought over must have been part of the Roman empire at some point, so that the *casus belli* could be recovery of what was rightfully the empire's territory ([19]). Less explicit, but also clear in Kolia-Dermitzakè's argument is the assumption that holy wars must be offensive. For example, she says that the Byzantine wars against Islam before 740 cannot be called holy wars because they were defensive ([20]). The ideology behind Byzantine holy wars further emphasized their religious character, presenting God as the head of the army, Byzantines as God's chosen people, and emperors and generals as descendants of Moses and Joshua. In the army, prayers, religious services, and speeches assured soldiers that they were fighting for God and would be rewarded in heaven if they died in such a fight. All of this rested on the fundamental elements of Byzantine political ideology, in which the emperor is God's vicar and the protector of Christians : "From this *Kaiseridee* — a theory that goes back to the 4th [*sic*] century — originates the competence of the emperor to proclaim such a 'holy war', a war that was a political and not an ecclesiastical affair, as was the case in the West" ([21]).

Thus Kolia-Dermitzakè outlines a series of criteria which make a war holy both in the eyes of its participants and in the definitions of historians. It must be commanded by God. The enemy must be defined as religiously different — as infidel or heretic. The soldiers

(19) Again, note that similar themes underlay western crusade. Canon lawyers and others argued that crusade was a just war because it sought only to avenge injury, to protect Christians, and to recover lands which rightfully belonged to Christians. Although this was not the only current of thought in the West, it was an important one. *Locus classicus* : C. ERDMANN, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. BALDWIN and W. GOFFART, Princeton 1977. Revision and updated biography in J. GILCHRIST, *The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083-1141*, in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. EDBURY, Cardiff 1985, pp. 37-45.

(20) KOLIA-DERMITZAKÈ, pp. 187ff.

(21) *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

must believe that God will reward them for their fighting on his behalf, especially if they die in battle. Finally, defensive wars do not qualify. She argues that Byzantium meets all of these criteria in its own particular ways, which are intertwined with Byzantine political theory. The Byzantine *genre* of holy war differs from *jihad* and crusade, as the two differ from each other, because it is the product of a different society with a different history.

More recently, A. E. Laiou published an article entitled, *On Just War in Byzantium* ([22]). Laiou does not define holy war, *per se*. She accomplishes a more specific, less comparative task : namely, posing the question of how Byzantines justified their wars, and doing so primarily through a close study of the Princess Anna Komnena's *Alexiad*. Nevertheless, I include Laiou's article in this brief historiographical sketch because she begins by stating that Byzantine wars were not holy wars because holy war "must be promulgated by a religious authority, which is also the sole authority capable of granting remission of sins or declaring the warriors martyrs" ([23]). Thus, although Anna presents her father as "almost a martyr, almost equal to the apostles, a Christlike figure..." ([24]), his wars are just wars, not holy wars. Again in the conclusion of her article, Laiou stresses that the essential difference between east and west is that "there never was a question in Byzantium as to who was the authority competent to wage war" ([25]). Since church authorities did not declare war in Byzantium, the war was not a holy war. She writes that Anna "... and her father were certain he was a Christian ruler waging a just war ; they would both have been stunned if anyone had suggested that he ever waged a holy war, such as the one that sent the Crusaders east" ([26]). Laiou thus considers two criteria essential for holy war : the leadership of a religious authority, and that authority's promise of remission of sins for the warriors. She also notes that Anna presents Alexios' wars as purely defensive and for the recovery of territory which rightfully belonged to the empire. That, and the fundamental difference between

(22) In *To Ελληνικον. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed J. S. Langdon *et al.*, New Rochelle - New York 1993, pp. 153-177.
(23) *Ibid.*, p. 153.
(24) *Ibid.*, p. 156.
(25) *Ibid.*, p. 170.
(26) *Ibid.*, p. 171.

Byzantine and crusader ideas about war, lead to Laiou's final assertion that Alexios waged nothing like a holy war.

Finally, Nicholas Oikonomidès has recently asserted that "Byzantium never knew a real 'holy war'" ([27]). Oikonomidès' criteria for holy war are explicit and familiar : a holy war must be declared by a religious authority, not a secular one ; and participants must be promised "extraordinary spiritual advantages" (*i.e.*, indulgences, martyr's status) ([28]). The role of religious authorities seems to be the most important issue for Oikonomidès. He repeatedly stresses that "the official position of the Byzantine church" did not include promising soldiers spiritual rewards for falling in battle ([29]) and that "the official Byzantine church shied away from the idea of a war of religion" ([30]).

Oikonomidès clearly does not mean that war in Byzantium can be separated from religion. On the contrary, he argues that "... religion played an important role in defining the military ideology of the Byzantines, but in a very particular way, typical of their unique character" ([31]). With Kolia-Dermitzakè, he argues that "The ideology that supported war had to be related to the empire and to its personification, the emperor, theoretically appointed by Christ to reign on earth. War was thus placed in the general framework of imperial ideology" ([32]). But he objects to her conclusion that some Byzantine wars are therefore holy wars : "But, as far as I can see, it has not been shown in any convincing way how the purported Byzantine holy war differed essentially from a 'normal' war ; would the only difference be the degree to which reference is made to religion, the insistence on this point and nothing more?" ([33]).

*

(27) N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *The Concept of "Holy War" and Two Tenth-century Byzantine Ivories*, in *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. T. S. MILLER and J. NESBITT, Washington D.C. 1995, p. 68.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 63.

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 67.

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 86.

(31) *Ibid.*, p. 64.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 62.

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 63.

PART II. — *BYZANTINE HOLY WAR : DEFINITIONS*

From this discussion of historiography, a number of possible definitions of holy war and a number of different characterizations of Byzantium emerge. Clearer than these definitions, however, is the realization that a definition of holy war which would be accepted once and for all has not and never will be achieved. Therefore it may be more useful to approach the Byzantine ideologies associated with warfare and religion from a different angle. One can use the definitions and criteria proposed by previous scholars and yet cut the Gordian Knot by asking a slightly different question. Instead of asking *whether* Byzantium had a notion of holy war, one could ask *in what ways* Byzantine wars were perceived by their participants as divinely ordained, aided, and rewarded. To answer the latter question, one can use the features of holy wars raised in previous historical literature without having to distinguish necessary features from secondary ones. To describe Byzantium in relation to these criteria will give only a relativist answer : Byzantium had *an* idea of holy war. It was not the only possible idea of holy war, but it enabled Byzantines to understand the crusades rather better than has generally been acknowledged.

In the following section of this essay, then, I discuss how some of the assertions about holy war discussed above apply to Byzantium.

A holy war is fought at God's command.

This characteristic of holy war can take many forms. If we insist that holy war is fought at the direct command of God, few wars would qualify — the Hebrew wars of the Bible and early Muslim *jihad*, and perhaps no others. If, on the other hand, one accepts that the command of God, as understood by combatants, can come through his human servants, then crusades are also holy wars. When Pope Urban II preached at Clermont, and his audience shouted "God wills it!", their belief that the pontiff spoke on God's behalf was clear. Along the way, too, the participants in the First Crusade were repeatedly reminded in visions and dreams that God had ordered their mission.

Perhaps the lack of such direct, revelatory commands from God explains the common assertion that Byzantine wars are not holy wars. However, the lack of explicit, enthusiastic and prophetic experiences in this area is balanced, as so often is the case, by a deep, abiding conviction that this Christian Roman Empire is God's special creation.

The emperor, as God's vicar, is the protector of the Christian people. His protection includes military defense, enforcement of laws, endowment of churches, and many other tasks. The emperor's wars are God's work because all of his deeds are God's work ([34]).

Thus we find in this matter, as we will in others below, that Byzantium resembles its neighbors and yet is different. It shares with them a Judeo-Christian heritage, especially the Hebrew Scriptures, which provides certain ideas, images, and justifications for holy war. Like western Christians and Muslims, Byzantine writers compare themselves to God's Chosen People, their wars to the wars of Israel, their rulers to the kings of Israel, and so on. But each of these three medieval cultures adopts, adapts, and interprets this heritage from Moses and Joshua in a different way. Byzantium's way is part and parcel of the eastern Empire's sense of continuous history and imperial grandeur, and that part of its heritage is not shared with its eastern or western neighbors.

A holy war is fought against "infidels" or "heretics" ; that is to say, opponents are defined in religious terms.

Mohammed and his successors enjoined war against those who did not accept the prophet's message, for they were the well-defined infidel. From the eleventh century on, popes promulgated wars against those who did accept the prophet's message, for they were the well-defined infidel. On a few occasions, Byzantine emperors — or at least their chroniclers — also emphasized the religious difference of their opponents. So, for example, the seventh-century chronicler Theophanes claims that the Emperor Herakleios (610-641) fought the Persians because they threatened Christians and that he spoke to his soldiers of these "infidel" ([35]). The *Chronicon Paschale*, another seventh-century source, speaks even more frequently of the Persians and Avars as "accursed", "impious" enemies ([36]).

(34) See, for example, the views expressed in Constantine Porphyrogenetos' imperial harangue to his army : H. AHRWEILER, *Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète*, in *TM* 2 (1967), pp. 393-404.

(35) *E.g.*, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, trans. H. TURTLEDOVE, Philadelphia 1982, pp.14 (Annus Mundi 6113) and 16 (AM 6114).

(36) *E.g.*, *Chronicon Paschale, 284-628 A.D.*, trans. M. WHITBY and M. WHITBY, Liverpool 1989, pp. 169-170 and 183-186.

Yet there is no denying that most Byzantine material gives little such sense of the enemy as infidel. For example, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos' book of advice to his son, *De administrando imperio*, contains few references to the religion of various enemies and allies of the Empire. Even when Constantine discusses the religion of foreigners, that religion is not sufficient reason to go to war against them. How the emperor should treat Russians, Pechenegs, Arabs, or southern Italians depends on the relative strength of the groups, on their relations with one another, and above all on what danger or advantage each offers to the empire (37).

So most Byzantine wars are not seen as wars against infidel or heretics. But some are. In this context, it seems worth noting that neither Muslims nor western Christians fought all wars against the infidel, either. Once more, we recognize a fundamental similarity among the three societies and a fundamental particularity in Byzantium. The similarity is still their Biblical heritage. Byzantines are familiar with the idea that God's people ought to fight infidels ; they get it from the same sources as Muslims and western Christians do. Yet Byzantines do not adopt this idea and consistently apply it to their own situation, while Islam and western Christianity do. Explaining this difference is beyond the scope of this essay, for it would require a comparative survey of the history of all three societies. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that the difference exists.

The fighters believe that God will reward them for their work on his behalf. They may also have more specific beliefs about rewards ; for example, that the reward for death in battle against the infidel is remission of one's sins and immediate entrance to heaven.

Crusade and *jihad* obviously fit this criterion. To put it more accurately, crusade and *jihad* supply this criterion. This is not an idea directly inherited from the Scriptures, but rather an idea whose provenance is debatable. In the Latin West, perhaps it comes from Germanic ideas of a paradise for warriors ; in Islam, perhaps from early Arabian notions. However that may be, both Christian preachers

(37) See, for example, Constantine's analysis of how to handle the Pechenegs, which includes no mention of their religious beliefs. CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. MORAVCSIK, trans. R. J. H. JENKINS, new revised ed., Washington D.C. 1967, pp. 48-53, ch. 1-5.

of crusade and Islamic promulgators of *jihad* promised the status of martyrs to those who died in battle against the infidel (38).

It is usually argued that Byzantium had no such idea. The eastern church remained ambivalent about the soldier's role. Always cited in this context is the case of Nikephoros Phokas (963-969). A great military emperor, Phokas successfully took the initiative against the Arabs in Asia Minor. As discussed above, his wars came so close to meeting all the crusade-based criteria for a holy war that Gustave Schlumberger portrayed him as a sort of proto-crusader. As brilliant generals must, Phokas also successfully inspired his soldiers, in part by persuading them that they were fighting for God's glory and their own salvation. Or so it seems, for he asked the patriarch to grant the title of martyrs to his soldiers who died in battle with the infidel. The patriarch and his synod refused, citing the thirteenth canon of St. Basil :

> Our Fathers did not consider killings in war to be murders, but, in my opinion, pardoned those who fight in defense of virtue and piety. Still, it is perhaps well to advise them to abstain only from communion for three years, since their hands are not clean (39).

This decisive rejection of Nikephoros Phokas' request for ecclesiastical support has been cited again and again to show that Byzantines simply could not conceive of the sort of holy war that the West was developing at the same time.

So, too, we have historical accounts of military commanders who stressed the religious aspect of battles in their pre-battle motivational speeches. "In some cases these commanders may have gone further than what was admissible for the Byzantine church. They may have tried to give to the upcoming fight the character of a holy war, where special compensation would be given by God to those who fell." Like

(38) One of hundreds of examples : BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, trans. C. GRIENIA, in *Treatises III*, Kalamazoo 1977, p. 130.

(39) BASIL THE GREAT *Amphilochio de canonibus*, Letter 188, canon 13, ed. Y. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, vol. 2, Paris 1961, p.130 ; PG 32, 681 682. – The story of Phokas' request and the patriarch's denial comes from Joannes SKYLITZES, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. THURN, Vienna (CFHB) 1973, pp. 273-275. See also, V. GRUMEL, *Les régestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I (*Les actes des patriarches*), fasc. II, Paris 1936, 790. — For a recent assessment of Nikephoros Phokas see R. MORRIS, *The Two Faces of Nickephoros Phokas* in *BMGS* 12 (1988), pp. 83-115.

Phokas, however, these military commanders are considered anomalous ; their "excesses of language, although certainly very well received by the troops, did not by any means reflect or even coincide in the least with the official position of the Byzantine church" (40).

The logic of these arguments is, however, flawed. The first assumes that the patriarch and his synod represent Byzantine attitudes in general, while Phokas is an eccentric emperor who does not quite think like a Byzantine should. The second also privileges the "official" position of the Church over evidence that many people within that Church, including some who could claim "official" status of their own, shared Phokas' attitude. Yet there were many Byzantines, and Byzantine ideologies were only slightly more monolithic than western ones. Phokas' position may have been common and popular — at least in certain areas of the empire. In their edition of a military treatise attributed to Phokas, G. Dagron and H. Mihaescu argue that this treatise, which presents imperial soldiers as protectors and liberators of the Christian world (*χριστιανικὸν πλήρωμα, χριστώνυμος λάος*), reflects a frontier *mentalité*, perhaps even a general military *mentalité*. The idea of imperial soldiers as martyrs for the faith, although "a scandal" to the patriarch and his synod in their secure fortress on the Bosphorus, was "implanted on the frontier" and promulgated in Byzantine military manuals (41). Dagron and Mihaescu play down the highly publicized rejection of Phokas' request, and pay close attention to the evidence we have for what soldiers were actually being told on a daily basis. In other words, we should ask not only what the patriarch thought the ideology of the army ought to be, but what the ideology of the army actually was.

When we look at the evidence of Byzantine military manuals, we see an army in which soldiers are required to attend religious services twice a day (42). We read imperial instructions to commanders and imperial harangues to the army which emphasize that soldiers who die in battle are "perpetually blessed" and that they fight "for the salvation of the soul" (43). Theophanes records that Herakleios once

(40) Oikonomidès, *The Concept of "Holy War"*, pp. 66-67.

(41) *Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963-969)*, Paris 1986, pp. 284-286.

(42) J.-R. Vieillefond, *Les pratiques religieuses dans l'armée byzantine d'après les traités militaires*, in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 37 (1935), pp. 324-325.

(43) Dagron and Mihaescu, pp. 285-286, citing the *Taktika* of Leo VI.

addressed his soldiers as follows :

> Brothers, do not be troubled by your enemies' numbers for, God willing, one will chase thousands. Let us sacrifice ourselves to God for the salvation of our brothers. Let us take the martyrs' crown so the future will applaud us and God will give us our reward (44).

Constantine Porphyrogenetos sent to his army holy water blessed by having touched the relics of Christ's Passion, assuring them that, when sprinkled on them, the water would give them strength and courage from heaven (45). Examples such as this could be multiplied. Imperial soldiers were thus regularly assured of God's presence and protection. They were also promised that he would reward them for their service. Thus seventh-century and tenth-century Byzantine soldiers had ideas of eternal reward not unlike that of eleventh-century crusaders. Later on, contact with western and eastern peoples who had developed ideas of military martyrdom undoubtedly influenced Byzantine soldiers, as well (46).

A holy war is declared and/or promulgated by a religious authority — pope, caliph, or prophet, for example. A war declared by a secular authority — e.g., an emperor — is not a holy war.

As Laiou notes, this requirement is met in both the Latin West and the Islamic East : the pope promulgates crusades ; the caliph calls for *jihad*. In Byzantium, the emperor alone can declare a war. The difference seems clear. The worlds of medieval Islam and medieval western Christendom were characterized by political disunity. As a result, only a particular religious leader could unite all the faithful against the infidel. In contrast, the greater political unity, continuity, and power of the eastern empire enabled the emperor to unite his Christian people. As a corollary, it was seldom necessary for the patriarch to step in as a leader of the defense, as western popes and

(44) *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, p. 19 (AM 6115).

(45) H. AHRWEILER, *Un discours inédit de Constantin VII*, p. 397.

(46) See N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos*, in *REB* 25 (1967), pp. 113-145 (reprinted in IDEM, *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VIIe-XVe s.)*, London 1976, art. XV). Oikonomidès argues that one of these patriarchal acts, in which the patriarch promises forgiveness of sins to soldiers who died in battle, was influenced by western models (pp. 115-121 and 131-135).

bishops did from the time of Gregory I (590-604). The patriarch helped motivate people for war. He supported the efforts of the armies with chaplains, prayers, and blessings. But he did not declare war ; that was the emperor's prerogative.

But was the emperor a secular authority and not a religious one? Were the pope and the caliph religious authorities and not secular ones? On the contrary, all three societies lacked absolute distinctions between religious institutions and state institutions. Both the caliphate and the papacy performed functions which, in other societies, are performed by the state. So, too, the Byzantine emperors and their state apparatus performed functions which other societies have reserved to religious authorities. To call the Byzantine emperor a purely secular figure is equivalent to calling the pope or caliph a purely religious one. He is the vicar of Christ, God's representative on earth, a man anointed (almost ordained) into a sacred office — arguably the most sacred office in the Empire. As Kolia-Dermitzakè puts it, in its holy wars the West had "the leadership and participation of the Church on the one hand, the remission of sins on the other", while Byzantium had "the inseparable unity of Christianity and 'Romanism', which resulted in the particular position of the emperor as motivator and leader of wars with a proclaimed religious aim" (47).

Holy war is offensive war, and it aims to convert, to exterminate, or to subjugate the infidel.

This idea, based on the models of crusade and *jihad*, presupposes a certain relationship between holy warriors and their neighbors — a relationship which the Byzantine Empire did not have. In order to go on the offensive, a society must not spend all its resources on defense. It must have the manpower and material means to move outward — a luxury the Christian West had precisely because the Christian East served as a buffer. Byzantium was on the defensive for most of its history. If we accept that holy war must be offensive, then we might concede that a few of Byzantium's military campaigns resembled holy wars (Herakleios against the Persians, Nikephoros Phokas and Ioannes Tzimiskes against the Arabs), but we would have to conclude that most did not, since most wars fought with adherents of other religions were defensive.

(47) KOLIA-DERMITZAKÈ, p. 408.

Yet subjects of the Byzantine Empire were themselves convinced of the holiness of their struggle against the infidel. They believed that God was on their side. They processed around the walls with icons to protect their cities in time of siege ([48]). They prayed to God for victory and praised him when they won. The holiness of their struggle permeated defensive wars as much as offensive ones, for "they considered themselves ... the new Chosen People, their empire ... the designated defender of Christianity, their state and their army ... the chosen instrument of God against his enemies, the infidel..." ([49]). In such a context, to deny the defensive wars of Byzantium the status of "holy wars" is counter-intuitive — a result, again, of reducing the general category of "holy war" to the specific sub-categories of *jihad* and crusade.

Holy war must be spontaneous and popular.

That holy war must be a product of popular enthusiasm is usually assumed, not stated explicitly. As noted above, however, Vitalien Laurent does make it explicit, both in praise of the Latin crusader and in deprecation of the passive Byzantine :

> The Greek of the Middle Ages was, in fact, a pure intellectual, hardly anxious to fight for his ideas. At the most critical moments — after Amorion, Manzikert, or Myriokephalon — when the Muslim victory seemed total, the nation never roused itself as did the French for Bouvines and Valmy or other peoples for liberty ([50]).

If we overlook the anachronism inherent in words such as "nation" and "liberty" in this context, and the stereotype of the Greek who would rather quibble about words than defend his people, Laurent has a point. In this matter, Byzantium does differ from its neighbors. The popular millenarianism that preceded the First Crusade, the prophecies of Peter the Hermit, even the pogroms in the Rhineland — all of these mob actions show that crusade appealed to all levels of society. *Jihad*, too, at least in its early days, harnessed popular enthusiasm. In contrast, despite rare examples of a high degree of

(48) For examples, see J. HERRIN, *The Formation of Christendom*, Princeton 1987, pp. 306-307, 314-315, and the sources cited there.

(49) AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1975, p. 35.

(50) LAURENT, *L'idée de guerre sainte*, p. 83.

popular support for imperial wars against the infidel, Byzantines did not rally 'round the cross as their crusader-cousins did. As a result, it is easy to argue that the military manuals and imperial harangues mentioned above are mere propaganda, with little or no reflection in popular attitudes.

Unfortunately, a kind of romanticism has crept into this argument. It assumes that dedication to a cause is somehow more substantial if it springs from momentary excitement or enthusiasm than if it springs from daily indoctrination. In this view, Byzantine soldiers were less certain of their divine mission because they did not manifest the fervor which characterized crusaders. Yet if Byzantine soldiers were attending two religious services a day, then Christianity was part of their socialization into the army — one might even say their indoctrination. To argue that such indoctrination could not have led to genuine devotion to the cause is analogous to arguing that since modern soldiers are drilled into submission and indoctrinated with nationalist ideas, their nationalism is neither genuine nor heartfelt. On the contrary, the power of ideologies taught in this way can be great, and irony about nationalism is rare among a nation's soldiers.

In the end, then, our picture of Byzantium's wars is mixed. On the one hand, Byzantines did fight wars which they believed were divinely ordained and would be divinely rewarded. They sometimes defined their enemies in religious terms. They sometimes compared their leaders to prophets and themselves to the Chosen People of Israel. Most importantly, the ideology of the Byzantine Empire was based on a conviction that this empire was God's creation, the fulfillment of his will for earthly rule. This Christian Roman Empire, with God's vicar anointed at its head, did God's work on earth. Its soldiers therefore fought for God when they fought to protect or to expand the empire. It seems illogical to dismiss all of this as not really holy war.

Yet this Byzantine species of holy war differs greatly from both *jihad* and crusade. Those who have stressed these differences are correct in their insistence on the particularity of Byzantium. Byzantine wars, even when fought against the infidel, lacked the sort of religious enthusiasms — visions and trances, millenial excitement, fasting and flagellation — which are so familiar to crusade historians. Byzantine armies were not all-volunteer armies, as crusading armies were. Inasmuch as the Byzantine state was stronger, the role of the church in Byzantium's wars was less. Byzantine foreign policy, complex and multi-faceted,

seldom defined the enemy by his infidel status alone. Many kinds of infidel enemies, who had to be used against one another, gave Byzantines a more relativist view of non-Christians than their western cousins had. Perhaps most importantly, warfare lacked the cultural weight in Byzantium that it carried in the West. Chivalric heroes such as Roland or the Cid, the glory of the fearless charge against all odds, the idea that it was better to die bravely than to live to fight another day — these are western notions, rarely encountered in Byzantium, and certainly not central to the culture of Byzantine elites as they were to the culture of western elites (51).

*

PART III. — *BYZANTINE HOLY WAR AND THE CRUSADES*

Today historians agree that Byzantines did not fight crusades. With Paul Lemerle, current historiography would limit the term crusade to specific institutional forms, especially papal authority and belief in indulgences (52). Most historians go a step further ; they insist that Byzantines also did not comprehend the Latin phenomenon. In the final section of this paper, I want to investigate this second statement — not because it is not fundamentally correct, but rather because it has been insufficiently defined. The generalization that Byzantines just did not understand crusade and were appalled by it is ubiquitous. Specific analysis of what appalled them, when and why, is rare (53).

(51) For a succinct discussion of this issue, see T. S. MILLER, *Introduction* in *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. T. S. MILLER and J. NESBITT, Washington D.C. 1995, pp. 6-8.

(52) Most crusade historians do insist on papal authority and other specifically western features of crusade, and I agree with them. Laiou and Lemerle have already been cited above to this effect. Byzantine wars — even the most religiously charged of them — differ from western crusades in many fundamental ways, including the role of the pope, the belief in crusade indulgences, and the mass of canon law which eventually developed to justify them. Still, it is interesting that J. RILEY-SMITH's recent, rather minimalist definition of crusade would fit some Byzantine wars : "A crusade was a holy war fought against those perceived to be the external or internal foes of Christendom for the recovery of Christian property or in defense of the Church or Christian people" (*The Crusades. A Short History*, New Haven 1987, p. XXVIII).

(53) Exceptions include nearly all aspects of R.-J. LILIE's analysis in *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096-1204*, trans. J. C. MORRIS and J. E. RIDINGS, Oxford 1993 ; and P. MAGDALINO's discussion of Alexios I's reaction to the First Crusade in *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 27-34.

The first part of this paper established that Byzantines were familiar with the idea of God commanding a war against the infidel and promising his soldiers rewards in the hereafter. They shared these ideas with western Christians. Nevertheless, Byzantine writers did respond to the crusades with horror and disgust even before the crusade was used as a weapon against them. If they did not object to holy war *per se*, to what did they object?

The Byzantine writer most frequently cited in this context is the Princess Anna Komnena — and with good reason. As an eyewitness of the First Crusade, Anna provides us with the earliest descriptions of the crusaders and with the earliest Byzantine version of what they were doing and why. She is horrified by the crusaders' conduct, and she makes little effort to understand their motives and ideals. Nevertheless — and this is an important point, seldom noted — she never says that the Latins were wrong to launch a war against the infidel for the recovery of the Holy Land. She is not uncomprehending of the whole idea of a holy war against Islam ; she simply does not believe that the Latin knights have come to fight such a war.

Given Anna's importance as a source and her omnipresence in the historical literature, some of what I have to say here will not be news to Byzantine historians. Still, I think one more analysis of Anna's reaction to the First Crusade is worthwhile, for accounts of her attitude toward the crusaders tend to concentrate on her disgusted fascination with Bohemond and to generalize about her "incomprehension" of the crusaders' motives. Missing in such accounts is a record of her rather specific complaints about the crusaders. Her contempt for them is not generic ; it has three specific components. First, both the masses of the People's Crusade and the soldiers of the main armies are barbarians. Anna's description of the beginning of the First Crusade is a description of a barbarian tribe invading a civilized land :

> ... The whole of the west and all the barbarians who lived between the Adriatic and Straits of Gibraltar migrated in a body to Asia.. Full of enthusiasm and ardor [aroused by the preaching of Peter the Hermit] they thronged every highway, and with these warriors came a host of civilians, outnumbering the sand of the sea shore or the stars of heaven.. The arrival of this mighty host was preceded by locusts, which abstained from the wheat but made frightful inroads on the vines... (54).

(54) *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans.E. R. A. SEWTER, New York 1969, book 10, part 5, pp. 308-309.

They could be almost any barbarians of any age, motivated, as barbarians are, by inexplicable enthusiasms, travelling in numberless hordes, and bringing with them plagues of insects. Not only do they enter in vast numbers, as barbarians always do, but they also share all of the other traits of barbarians. They are fickle, emotional, violent, insolent, superstitious — in a word, uncivilized ([55]). These hordes threaten the Empire, but not because of their religious fervor. Indeed, Anna notes their religious ardor without criticizing it : "The simpler folk were in very truth led on by a desire to worship at Our Lord's tomb and visit the holy places..." ([56]). So far, then, Anna's reaction to the crusaders is to fit them into a mental category which she shared with most Byzantine writers of her age : they are barbarians — dangerous representatives and carriers of chaos — but they are not heretics and their idea of going to Jerusalem is not dismissed by an uncomprehending Byzantine princess.

Second, Anna impugns the motives of the leaders of the crusade. So she contrasts "the simpler folk" and their genuine desire to see the holy places with "... the more villainous characters (in particular Bohemond and his like) [who] had an ulterior purpose, for they hoped on their journey to seize the capital itself, looking upon its capture as a natural consequence of the expedition" ([57]). Some have said that this suspicion results from Anna's inability to believe that warriors would travel thousands of miles to restore the Holy Land to Christian hands. There is some truth in this statement ; the impracticality of the crusaders in wishing to march across Islamic Asia Minor in order to establish an outpost in the Holy Land seemed strange to Byzantine emperors, who wanted instead to push the borders of the empire east from Nicea to its former boundaries. Still, the idea of recovering Jerusalem was not entirely alien to Byzantines, nor were Byzantines immune to the religious charms of Jerusalem, even if they were less prone to millenial enthusiasm about it than their western brothers were ([58]).

(55) G. BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena. A Study*, London 1929, p. 458.

(56) *Alexiad,* book 10/6, p. 311.

(57) *Ibid.*

(58) For example, although Ioannes Tzimiskes did not capture Jerusalem, and probably did not even try to do so, it is significant that someone considered it worthwhile to claim that he had done so. See *Armenia and the Crusades : tenth to twelfth centuries : the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. A. E. DOSTOURIAN,

But even if Alexios had made recovery of Jerusalem his highest priority, even if he had been willing to attack Palestine while Anatolia remained a Turkish province, he would nevertheless have suspected that the crusaders were really seeking something other than holy places. Quite justifiably, he suspected that the crusaders wanted his throne. Some of the men on the First Crusade had been involved in earlier attacks on the empire. Even before he became emperor, Alexios had fought unsuccessfully against Robert Guiscard's attempts to seize Dyrrachium and the surrounding area. Guiscard intended the lands he gained, including Dyrrachium, to go to his son Bohemond as an inheritance. Unfortunately for Bohemond, Alexios later regained this territory for his empire. Bohemond's inheritance evaporated. He next appeared in Byzantine history as the leader of a band of crusaders. Was Alexios supposed to believe that Bohemond's only interest was a pilgrimage to the Holy Land? On the contrary, he greeted Bohemond and the other crusaders with great caution — not because he could not understand fighting for Jerusalem, but simply because he did not believe that that was what they were doing (59). His daughter both shared and praised his suspicion.

Finally, Anna is horrified by clergy on the crusade who bear arms and fight with the rest of the army. Byzantine disapproval of Latin clerics and their participation in battle precedes Anna. In 1054, Patriarch Michael Keroularios (1043-1058) complained that Latin bishops, "going forth to battle, stain their hands with blood, killing and being killed..." (60). Although the debate continues about the evolution of opinions of soldiers in the Christian Church, in part because the canonical evidence is mixed, the canonical prohibition of clerical participation in battle is clear. Even when the church became

Lanham, Maryland 1993, pp. 28-33, and the analysis of WALKER (n. 6 above), pp. 326-327.

(59) In other words, I see the suspicion and mistrust as the *first* feature of relations between Alexios and the crusaders, *leading to* a skepticism about the goal of the Holy Land. Ahrweiler and others see a different picture. Ahrweiler writes that the goal of the Holy Land was incomprehensible to the Byzantines. Therefore, they saw that goal as a pretext, masking the real goal, which was to take lands and power away from the Empire. In this view, incomprehension preceded disbelief and mistrust. H. AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique*, pp. 79-80.

(60) *Michaelis sanctissimi archiepiscopi Constantinopolis novae Romae, et oecumenici patriarchae, Cerularii, ad Petrum sanctissimum patriarchum Theopolis magnae Antiochiae*, para. 13, PG 120, 793/794.

a supporter of Empire, and its thinkers developed theories which allowed Christians to wage a just war, the church did not permit clergy to join the army or soldiers to become clerics. Both Apostolic Canon 83 and the seventh canon of the Council of Chalcedon reflect this prohibition (61). In Byzantium, most evidence points to the enforcement of this prohibition right down to the end of the empire (62). In the West, however, this prohibition came to be ignored in the early Middle Ages, as bishops who were also secular lords took on military responsibilities, occasionally even leading troops into battle.

Here, then, Anna does show us a fundamental ideological, political, and sociological difference between East and West. That her objections in this area go beyond crusade is clear when we combine her complaints about fighting clergy with her description of Pope Gregory VII, which drips with contempt and sarcasm :

> The abominable pope with his spiritual grace and evangelic peace, this despot, marched to make war on his own kindred with might and main — the man of peace, too, and disciple of the Man of Peace!... It seems that he misunderstood the saying of Paul, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man', for his right hand was only too ready for the laying-on of hands where kings were concerned (63).

As discussed above, the continuity of imperial authority in the East meant continuity of the idea that the emperor was the only legitimate

(61) Ap. Can. 83 : "If any bishop, priest, or deacon is involved in military matters and wishes to hold both a Roman [civil] office and a sacerdotal office, let him be deposed..." (ed. P. JOANNOU, *Fonti. Fascicolo IX. Disciplina Generale Antiqua (IIe-IXe s.)*, vol. 1, part 2 : *Les canons des synodes particuliers*, Rome 1962, p. 50). — Chalcedon 7 : "We have decreed that those who have been enrolled in the clergy or have become monks shall not join the army or obtain any secular office. Let those who dare to do this and will not repent be anathema..." (ed. P. JOANNOU, *Fonti. Fascicolo IX. Disciplina Generale Antiqua (IIe-IXe s.)*, vol. 1, part 1 : *Les canons des conciles œcuméniques*, Rome 1962, p. 75).

(62) *E.g.*, Demetrios Chomatianos, a thirteenth-century bishop, despite his general reluctance to defrock clergy without weighty cause, ruled that a cleric who had fought in defense of his city and killed many of the enemy must be defrocked. Records of Chomatianos's legal decisions in J. B. PITRA, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, VII (VI), Rome 1891 (repr. Farnborough 1967), no.75, pp. 323-326. This case cited and paraphrased in M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081-1261*, Cambridge 1995, p. 250. — For another, earlier example, see P. VISCUSO, *Christian Participation in Warfare. A Byzantine View*, in *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. T. S. MILLER and J. NESBITT, Washington D.C. 1995, pp. 33-49.

(63) *Alexiad*, book 1/13, pp. 63-64.

authority to declare war. Byzantium's bishops and patriarchs were seldom forced to take on the sorts of secular responsibilities, including military defense, which popes and bishops in the West assumed. As a result, Byzantines viewed the secular power and claims to secular power of the popes with something akin to horror. "Thus the crusade,... launched by the pope, was above all for the Byzantines a symbol of the usurpation of imperial power by the spiritual leader, who thus committed a quasi-sacrilege" (64).

So Anna's fundamental misunderstanding is not an inability to understand holy war. She notes that the crusaders claimed to be waging such a war ; if she had been appalled at the very idea, she would have said so. Instead, she complains about barbarism, deception and hypocrisy, a specific violation of canon law, and ecclesiastical usurpation of imperial powers. She does not maintain that fighting for Christianity is wrong ; she merely contends that the barbarian Franks are not fighting for Christianity and that their priests and bishops pollute themselves when they take up the sword.

In general, the princess' three complaints about crusaders also dominate later Byzantine accounts. Reading the secondary literature, however, one might expect a fourth criticism of the crusade to appear from the beginning : namely, the Latin idea, based on the crusading indulgence, that soldiers killed in battle are martyrs. The difference between East and West in this matter is important ; it has, however, been exaggerated. As illustrated by Theophanes, Nikephoros Phokas and others, Byzantium was not entirely unfamiliar with the idea that soldiers who fight for God will be rewarded in paradise.

More importantly, as far as I know, no Byzantine author before 1204 complains about the crusade indulgence. I suspect that the idea of holy soldier-martyrs passed relatively unnoticed in the early crusades because it was not a completely alien concept. Also, the full import of a Latin doctrine could remain unknown in the East for decades, especially when that doctrine was continually changing, as the doctrine of indulgences was (65). After 1204, however, Byzantine authors begin

(64) AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique*, p. 79.

(65) An analogous example : the Latin doctrine of Purgatory developed out of traditions which were, in part, shared by eastern and western Christians. But it developed without eastern knowledge and understanding so that when, in 1231, a Greek first confronted the full Latin doctrine, he was horrified. See R. OMBRES, *Latins and Greeks in Debate over Purgatory, 1230-1439*, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*

to note this Latin development and to denounce it. For example, Constantine Stilbes, a distinguished intellectual in Constantinople, witnessed the sack of the city in 1204. Shortly thereafter, he wrote a list of Latin religious errors and military atrocities (66). His sixty-first complaint (out of seventy-five) is that "They maintain that those who are killed in battle are saved, and they say that they immediately enter heaven, even if they fell while fighting because of avarice, bloodlust, or some other excess of evil" (67). The complaint refers to crusading indulgences and probably more generally to the statements of crusade preachers, who were not always completely scrupulous about the details of canon law and the opinions of the theologians. Stilbes distorts the Latin doctrine, for even the most enthusiastic crusade preacher should have denied that death during a fight inspired by avarice was meritorious.

In any case, the essential fact is the context in which Stilbes writes. One might well doubt that he would have complained about the idea of spiritually meritorious death in battle if the battles had continued to be against infidel. By the time he writes, however, he has seen Latin battles directed against his people, his city, himself. The Latin idea that death in battle can be meritorious cannot now be separated from their idea that battle against "schismatic" Greeks is also meritorious. We might note that as his sixtieth complaint, immediately before the complaint quoted above, Stilbes wrote, "Their bishops, especially the pope, are very well pleased with the slaughter of Christians, and they declare that these murders are the salvation of those who commit them" (68).

Stilbes' complaint about indulgences is one example of a larger phenomenon, the watershed which is the Fourth Crusade. With the atrocities committed in Constantinople, which were, in modern terms, both secular (murder, rape, pillage) and religious (desecrations of churches, destruction of icons, scattering of relics), the Latins ceased to be mere barbarians and became enemies of both empire and faith.

35 (1984), pp. 1-14 ; G. DAGRON, *La perception d'une différence : les débuts de la «Querelle du purgatoire»*, in *15e Congrès international des Études byzantines : Actes*, vol. 4, Athens 1976, pp. 84-92.

(66) J. DARROUZÈS, ed. and trans., *Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins*, in *REB* 21 (1963), pp. 50-100.

(67) *Ibid.*, p.77 (para. 61).

(68) *Ibid.* (para. 60).

Of course, this idea did not develop *ex nihilo*. Even before 1204 the Latins were occasionally perceived as a threat to faith or empire. But the events of 1204 intensified the fear and loathing to an immeasurable degree. The sack of the imperial city united concerns about religious differences with concerns about the integrity of the Empire. Latins were now a threat to body and soul, to church and state, to those who valued the empire above all and to those who valued orthodoxy above all (69).

In general, when Byzantines looked at crusaders before the traumatic events of 1204, they saw barbarians. As barbarians, the crusaders were dangerously violent and short-tempered ; they were sneaky and not to be trusted ; they had all sorts of other negative traits. As civilized people looking at barbarians, Byzantine writers before 1204 were arrogant and condescending. They were also, in a sense, uncomprehending. But not because they could not understand holy war ; rather, because they could not understand the culture and motivations of these strangers from the West. Nor did they make much effort to do so. Why should one bother to understand barbarians? Before 1204, hostility between Latins and Byzantines was common, but sporadic. Latins were simply one race of enemies in that period — a troublesome race, but no more so than Bulgars, Pechenegs, and Turks. After 1204, Latins had shown themselves to be not only barbarians, but also heretics. Their sack of the city of Constantinople, complete with the desecration of churches and icons, took them beyond the realm of barbarians, whom Byzantine writers always portrayed with a certain condescension and without too much concern for detail, to the realm of heretics, whom Byzantine writers loved to portray in great detail — accurate or not.

*

The goal of this paper has not been to describe all aspects of Byzantine attitudes toward war, violence, soldiers, or the West. There are scholars working on these questions, and the conclusions of their work will be invaluable. I have no doubt that they will correct my conclusions or question my definitions in various ways. Still, three

(69) See AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique*, pp. 108-111 and ANGOLD, *Church and Society*, pp. 10-11 and 506-529.

broad theses have emerged which seem worth emphasizing by way of conclusion.

First, discussions of Byzantine holy war often fail, despite all protestations to the contrary, to recognize that imperial ideology and religious ideology in Byzantium were inseparable. While it is important to insist that Byzantine wars were neither crusades nor *jihad*, it is also important to see that they are no more purely secular than any other aspect of Byzantine society. Some wars certainly cannot be seen as religious wars in Byzantium ; the near-extermination of the Bulgars under Basil II, for example, was a war against Christians. As such, it was not a holy war ([70]). Still, the West and Islam also had their secular wars. Instead of denying that wars fought by Christian soldiers in defense of a Christian empire against Muslims or polytheists were religious wars, we might concentrate on other tasks : for example, describing and defining religion and the holy as understood by Byzantines, then analyzing the relationship between such an understanding and the *imperium* ([71]). That way lies more understanding and less anachronism.

Second, while Byzantines did not enthusiastically pursue holy war as their neighbors did, they were not "passive", pacifist, or less militarily capable than those same neighbors. One wishes that this idea no longer needed refutation. The progress made in Byzantine military history in the last few decades should have put to rest forever the image of the effeminate Greek trembling before the mighty crusader from the West. Unfortunately, the idea that Byzantines hated war and despised their soldiers keeps reappearing ([72]), as do the consequent positive and

(70) The difficulty of justifying and explaining the defeat and punishment of the Bulgars within the Christian, Roman ideology of the empire is discussed by AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique*, pp. 140-144 and by KOLIA-DERMITZAKÈ, pp. 310-316.

(71) ANGOLD, *Church and Society*, and MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I*, pp. 267-309, 366-412, are admirable examples of such careful, specific study. The complexity, the fissures within Byzantium, the ambiguity and ambivalence which they describe should make us wary of simple, dualistic descriptions of Byzantine "Caesaropapism" or, on the other hand, "monastic dominance".

(72) *E.g.*, K. ARMSTRONG, *Holy War. The Crusades and their Impact on Today's World*, New York 1988, p. 25 : "In the Greek Orthodox Church of the Byzantine Empire war was always regarded as unchristian and during a campaign a soldier was denied the sacraments. The Byzantines preferred to use mercenaries in their wars rather than allow Greek Christians themselves to fight".

negative conclusions about Byzantine character. On the negative side, Byzantine attitudes can be seen as Laurent's "moral inertia" — a cowardly, fatalistic refusal to risk life and limb for the glorious defense of Christendom ([73]). This is the sort of nonsense which occasionally drove Sir Steven Runciman to polemical over-statement of the opposite point of view. Runciman and others provide the positive interpretation of the supposedly less-warlike Byzantines. In this view, they were simply more civilized and more realistic. They understood, as their Germanic cousins did not, that war was not glorious, but rather a necessary evil, to be avoided, when possible, by diplomacy, tribute, and any other available means. They also understood that the best way to keep Islamic powers at bay was to keep them divided, to play them off against one another. They may therefore have feared that the crusade would dangerously unite these enemies, and cause more war and bloodshed than it would prevent. So, as Runciman would have it, the Byzantines not only dynamically held off the Muslim threat for centuries ; they also did so in spite of the consistently idiotic interventions of crusaders from the West who understood neither the enemy nor their allies ([74]).

Regardless of whether one interprets Byzantine attitudes as realistically peaceable or impractically passive, the distortion remains — a distortion born of simplified categories and inadequate understanding. In place of such simplification, many recent historians have exposed the fissures within Byzantium itself, where Laurent's courtly sycophants who despised military virtues and quibbled about words served at the court of military emperors who fought God's wars and sought martyr's status for their soldiers, and where the "official" Church's firm stand against fighting priests was not unanimously accepted or observed. This ambiguous and ambivalent Byzantium is less appealing to those who want to use Byzantine history for their own polemical purposes. On the other hand, for those who want to understand this intricate and diverse society, a carefully executed portrait in shades of gray is a welcome replacement for the child-like black-and-white sketches of polemicists.

(73) LAURENT, *L'idée de guerre sainte*, pp. 92, 72.

(74) See, for example, S. RUNCIMAN's analysis of the Second Crusade and Manuel II's treaty with a Turkish prince : *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 : *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East 1100-1187*, Cambridge 1952, p. 275. See also Runciman's oft-quoted conclusion regarding the relative merits of Byzantine struggles against the Muslims versus crusades : *ibid.*, p. 277.

Finally, our own perceptions of Byzantines, Latins, and the crusades is influenced greatly by the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in 1204. So was late Byzantine ideology. We must not mistake attitudes from after 1204 for attitudes before. After 1204, Byzantine writers do criticize the crusading sub-species of holy war. They do so, however, not because they do not understand holy wars fought against infidel, but rather because the Latins have treated them as infidel. They cannot see Latin holy wars as holy because they see Latins as heretics, determined, like all other heretics, to undermine both orthodoxy and the Christian Empire. After the sack of Constantinople, and after attempts to force Greek clerics to declare their allegiance to Rome — and only then — the Latins become the most important and most hated enemy. By overlooking this watershed, even some of the best modern scholars have erred about Byzantine attitudes toward the Latins before 1204. V. Laurent thought that the belief, often expressed in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, that Turkish rule was better than Latin rule, "held true for all epochs" of Byzantine history. He further noted that, "If Byzantium had had a taste for wars of religion, it would have directed them toward the West, and not toward the East" (75). From 1204 on, this may have been true. Before then, it was not.

Princeton University. Tia M. KOLBABA.

(75) LAURENT, *L'idée de guerre sainte*, pp. 83-84.

NOTES

IL "READING CIRCLE" INTORNO A FOZIO

Intorno alla genesi della *Biblioteca* di Fozio esiste una letteratura molto vasta. Un dato concordemente considerato plausibile è che le letture (*ἀνεγνώσθη* è la parola con cui cominciano quasi tutti i 280 capitoli della *Biblioteca*), di cui quell'imponente libro dà conto, si siano svolte in una cerchia che seguiva l'ispirazione e si adeguava alla guida di Fozio. Molto diffusa è anche l'opinione che l'attività di questa "cerchia" si sia sviluppata negli anni precedenti il primo patriarcato di Fozio (858-867).

Di una decisa negazione dell'esistenza di un "reading circle" intorno a Fozio e della connessione di esso con la *Biblioteca* si fece, invece, assertore, alcuni anni fa, Warren Treadgold : «For many years [...] many scholars have supposed that the books were read by some sort of "reading circle" a myth that has no basis anywhere and has only recently begun to die a richly deserved death» (1). Il pensiero di Treadgold merita attenzione tra l'altro perché a lui si deve una monografia foziana (1980), contenente utili materiali e un prezioso regesto.

L'affermazione del Treadgold («a myth that has no basis anywhere») è, però, in questo caso infondata. Egli sembra non considerare che la lettera 290 Laourdas-Westerink (p. 126, 64-81) — come già rilevato da Lemerle — dà un'idea chiara del "reading circle" operante intorno a Fozio. In quella lettera al papa Nicolò I (anno 861) è Fozio stesso che rievoca l'attività di studio collettivo, risalente al periodo anteriore alla sua assunzione del patriarcato.

Ulteriore smentita alla tesi di Treadgold viene da un testo che in genere non è ricordato quando si affrontano i problemi della genesi della *Biblioteca* foziana : mi riferisco al IX canone del cosiddetto Concilio ecumenico VIII (869/870), in cui fu sanzionata la deposizione di Fozio e la reintegrazione

(1) W. Treadgold, *Photios and the Reading Public for Classical Philology in Byzantium*, in : *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. by M. Mullett and R. Scott, Birmingham 1981, p. 124.

di Ignazio sul seggio di Costantinopoli, e si espresse solenne anatema contro Fozio. Il IX canone è tra quelli che leggiamo soltanto nella traduzione latina degli atti dell'VIII Concilio fatta da Anastasio Bibliotecario (è nel Vat. Lat. 4965, che ha valore di autografo) ; manca, infatti, tra quelli trascelti e inseriti negli *excerpta* greci dello stesso concilio (i cui testimoni più importanti, entrambi del sec. XIV, sono il Marc. Gr. 167 e il Mon. Gr. 436). Ecco il testo del IX canone (Mansi XVI, col. 165 = *COD* [1991²] p. 173) : «Variam et diversam malitiam antiquitus in ecclesia Constantinopolitana infelix operatus est Photius. Didicimus enim quod et multo ante tyrannicum praesidatum (2) propriae manus subscriptionibus muniebat *adherentes sibi clientes ad discendam sapientiam* (3) quae a Deo stulta facta est, cum manifeste nova esset inventio [...]».

E' evidente che qui si parla del "reading circle" dedito alla scienza profana («sapientiam, quae a Deo stulta facta est»), e si afferma che esso funzionava, intorno a Fozio, «da molto prima che egli salisse al trono patriarcale» (qui definito, con formulazione polemica, «*tyrannicus* praesidatus» : i condannatori di Fozio, infatti, non riconobbero mai la legittimità della sua elezione) : e si lascia intendere la costanza di tale consuetudine anche durante il patriarcato (4).

Università di Bari. Luciano CANFORA.

(2) E' questa la forma corretta (cfr. Vat. Lat. 4965, f 124r, ll. 6-7), non *praesidiatum*, come stampano Mansi e gli editori dei *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, per influenza di esemplari deteriori. Per il termine, cfr. *Thes. ling. Lat.* X,2, fasc. VI, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1987, s.v. «praesidatus», coll. 877-878, specialmente 878, 1-7.

(3) Il corsivo è mio.

(4) Ai problemi riguardanti la genesi della Biblioteca foziana riserverò adeguata trattazione in un prossimo, ampio lavoro sull'opera.

D'UN ROMAN À UN AUTRE ...

Saluons, pour sa traduction du roman de Prodrome (1), l'honnêteté du dessein de Karl Plepelits qui cherche à respecter et à «reproduire fond et forme » du texte original. Il y parvient aisément, et d'autant plus qu'il choisit le vers libre et non la prose pour traduire ce roman en vers. Son travail s'avère ainsi beaucoup plus fidèle au texte que sa précédente traduction du roman de Makrembolitès (2), dans laquelle il modifiait *a priori* certains choix de l'auteur (3).

Regrettons cependant que l'introduction à la traduction de *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès* se trouve à compléter ou à rectifier sur un certain nombre de points. Nous nous limiterons à quatre d'entre eux, les plus importants :

1. **Le problème de la chronologie des romans byzantins.** Karl Plepelits considère que Prodrome est un successeur de Makrembolitès dont il s'inspire. Karl Plepelits ne prouve absolument pas cette affirmation à partir de la comparaison — facile pourtant — des textes de *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès* et *Hysminè et Hysminias*, mais se fonde sur la seule observation que Prodrome concrétise grâce à l'emploi du vers la «prose poétique» de Makrembolitès. Il part en fait du postulat, déjà énoncé par lui dans l'introduction à *Hysminè et Hysminias*, que Makrembolitès est un romancier du XIème et non du XIIème siècle comme Prodrome, Eugenianos et Manasses. Or rien de sérieux ne permet à l'heure actuelle de soutenir cette hypothèse (4). On s'expliquerait mal en particulier, étant donné le succès qu'il a remporté, l'absence totale de manuscrits du XIIème siècle d'*Hysminè et Hysminias*, alors qu'on en possède pour ce roman quatre du XIIIème, contre un seul pour *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès*.

(1) *Theodoros Prodromos, Rhodanthe und Dosikles* (*Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur*, Band 42), éd. Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1996.

(2) *Eustathios Makrembolites, Hysmine und Hysminias* (*Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur*, Band 29), éd. Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1989.

(3) Introduction à *Hysminè et Hysminias*, p. 11.

(4) Rien de sérieux et surtout pas la gymnastique sémantique à laquelle se livre Karl Plepelits dans l'introduction à la traduction d'*Hysminè et Hysminias*, pp. 2 et 69 seq., pour prouver que l'auteur de ce roman n'est autre que ... Jean Doucas !

2. **Les sources des romanciers byzantins.** Nous n'avons aucune preuve qu'au XIIème siècle on lisait, outre les romans grecs de Tatius, Héliodore et Longus, ceux de Chariton d'Aphrodise (*Chairéas et Callirhoé*) et de Xénophon d'Ephèse (*Les Ephésiaques*). Mais aucune preuve du contraire non plus. Pourtant Karl Plepelits limite à Héliodore et Tatius les modèles romanesques grecs de Prodrome, sans même s'interroger sur les relations possibles de *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès* avec l'une ou l'autre des oeuvres de Chariton et Xénophon. Ce faisant il méconnaît l'identité entre deux épisodes au moins des *Ephésiaques* et de *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès* (respectivement IV, 2, 9 et VIII, 116-124) et limite son champ de réflexion sur les romans byzantins et grecs tout à la fois.
3. **Les repères spatio-temporels.** Précisons que si l'on a d'abord tendance, comme le fait Karl Plepelits, à situer les aventures de Rhodanthé et Dosiclès à la même époque que celles des romans grecs (domination perse aux Vème et IVème siècles), un examen serré du texte, et en particulier de la titulature qui évoque aussi bien Byzance que la Perse, laisse apparaître le refus de Prodrome de s'enfermer dans le temps de l'histoire grâce à l'effacement de tout repère fiable. C'est sur ce point, nous semble-t-il, qu'il faut insister. Il en va de même pour le traitement de l'espace dans le roman. Karl Plepelits remet en cause l'interprétation par Herbert Hunger du choix du toponyme Pissa, et s'efforce alors de démontrer que les villes des chefs de guerre Mistylos et Bryax se trouvent sur la côte Est méditerranéenne. Mais à quoi bon émettre des hypothèses de toute façon invérifiables et qui, surtout, trahissent le dessein de Prodrome ? Pourquoi chercher derrière des noms fictifs une réalité qu'il a justement désiré masquer, tout comme il désire échapper à la réalité du temps historique ?
4. Nous ne voyons aucune trace dans *Rhodanthé et Dosiclès* de **l'influence chrétienne** dont parle Karl Plepelits et qui apparaît, selon lui, à plusieurs reprises dans le roman (il cite quatre exemples absolument peu convaincants) ainsi qu'à travers des citations de la *Septante* et de l'*Ancien Testament*. Il n'y renvoie pas et nous ne les avons, quant à nous, identifiées nulle part. Ce détournement du texte conduit Karl Plepelits jusqu'à affirmer, dans la Préface qui précède l'introduction à sa traduction, que le Zeus du roman est assimilable à Dieu le Père !

Si la traduction de Karl Plepelits est à la fois proche du texte et plaisante à lire, l'introduction ne joue donc pas à plein son rôle fonctionnel. Au lieu d'offrir au lecteur les clefs du roman, c'est-à-dire des repères précis dans le temps et l'espace propres au récit, dans sa structuration et sa dynamique, elle se limite à une approche fragmentaire, éclatée, qui n'amène ni à une vision globale du texte, ni à une réflexion d'ensemble sur lui.

Toulouse. Florence MEUNIER.

ŒUVRES DE GRÉGOIRE DE NAZIANZE À SOFIA

La recension de la «*Checklist*» des manuscrits grecs du Centre d'études slavo-byzantines «Ivan et Hélène Dujčev» de Sofia publiée dans cette revue, l'an dernier, signalait qu'il y a dans les bibliothèques de la capitale bulgare dix-sept codex contenant des pièces du corpus des *Discours* de Grégoire de Nazianze (1). Ces textes grégoriens seront présentés dans notre *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, qui est sous presse (2) ; néanmoins, des collègues attentifs aux œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze récemment repérées demandent des précisions à leur sujet. Les notes qui suivent répondent à leur impatience (3).

Les manuscrits dont il va être question sont conservés dans trois dépôts : la bibliothèque du Centre d'études slavo-byzantines «Ivan et Hélène Dujčev» le Musée National Historique et la Bibliothèque synodale (4). Ce sont les

(1) Cf. *Byzantion*, 67 (1997), p. 312 : recension de Axinia DŽUROVA, K. STANČEV, V. ATSALOS et V. KATSAROS, *« Checklist» de la collection des manuscrits grecs conservée au Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines «Ivan Dujčev» auprès de l'université «St. Clément d'Ohrid» de Sofia* (*Publications du programme de la coopération entre le centre «Ivan Dujčev» de l'université «St. Clément d'Ohrid» de Sofia et l'université Aristote de Thessalonique*, 3), Thessalonique, 1994.

(2) Ces manuscrits avaient fait l'objet d'une communication présentée au «Centre Dujčev», le 18 mai 1996, à l'occasion d'un colloque au cours duquel la «*Checklist*» fut présentée au public. Cette communication sera publiée dans les Actes du colloque de mai 1996. Cf. J. MOSSAY et B. COULIE, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Græcus. 6. Codices Ægypti, Bohemiæ, Hispaniæ, Italiæ, Serbiæ* (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. N. F. 2. Reihe : *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz*, 12), Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich (sous presse).

(3) L'étude de Mme V. Somers récemment publiée modifie des idées qui étaient généralement admises depuis les travaux de Th. Sinko et J. Sajdak concernant la tradition manuscrite du corpus des *Orationes* de Grégoire de Nazianze. Cf. Véronique SOMERS, *Histoire des collections complètes des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze* (*Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain*, 48), Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997. Aucune collection complète des *Discours* n'a été repérée à Sofia ; le cod. *Sardicensis Dujčevianus Gr.* 219, qui contient le corpus presque complet, est une collection «liturgique» de XVI discours complétée au XIVe siècle (f. I : année 1379).

(4) L'accueil reçu dans ces trois institutions a facilité les recherches entreprises. Je remercie particulièrement Mme Axinia Džurova, professeur à l'université de Sofia et directrice du Centre «Ivan Dujčev». La bibliothèque synodale actuelle était naguère une section du «Musée ecclésiastique archéologico-historique du Saint-Synode» situé sur l'ancienne place Lénine.

Codices Sardicenses Dujčeviani Græci 60 (sæc. XI) ; 192 (sæc. XV ineunt.) ; 205 (sæc. XI-XII) ; 219 (anni 1379) ; 253 (sæc. XIV) ; 278 (sæc. XIV) ; 282 (sæc. XI) ; 312 (sæc. XIV) ; 335 (uariorum sæc.) ; 364 (sæc. XI) ; 368 nuper *Academ. Scientiarum Gr.* 13 (sæc. XIV) ; 385 (sæc. XIV) ; 401 (sæc. XIV) ; 403 (sæc. XII) ; 410 (sæc. XI-XII) ; 451 (sæc. XIV), le *codex Sardicensis Musæi Nationalis Bulgariæ, Inventarii* n° 16502, qui est un fragment du même manuscrit que le *Dujčev. Gr.* 410 (sæc. XI-XII), et le *codex Sardicensis Synodal. Gr.* nuper *Musæi Synod. Gr.* 300 (sæc. XII-XIII). Voici la liste des pièces appartenant au corpus des *Discours* de Grégoire de Nazianze que j'y ai relevées (5) :

1 = *Sur la fête de Pâques* I (*PG* 35, col. 396-401) : *Dujč. gr.* 205 : f. 1-4v (XVIe siècle) et f. 5r-v (fragment, XIe-XIIe siècle) ; 219 : f. 3-4 ; — 282 : f. 4-6v ; — 312 : f. 1-2 ; — 364 : f. 211v-213 ; *Synod. gr.* 300 : pages 1-5.

2 = *Sur le sacerdoce* (*PG* 35, col. 408-513) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 116-134v.

3 = *Sur des auditeurs peu empressés* (*PG* 35, col. 517-525) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f.135-136v.

4 = *Première invective contre l'empereur Julien* (*PG* 35, col. 532-664) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 242-262v.

5 = *Seconde invective contre l'empereur Julien* (*PG* 35, col. 664-720) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 262v-271v.

6 = *Sur la paix* I ou *Première homélie irénique* (*PG* 35, col. 721-752) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 139v-145v.

7 = *Éloge funèbre de son frère Césaire* (*PG* 35, col. 756-788) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 191-197v.

8 = *Éloge funèbre de sa sœur Gorgonie* (*PG* 35, col. 789-817) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 197v-202v.

9 = *Sur l'épiscopat de Sasimes* (*PG* 35, col. 820-825) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 138-139v.

10 = *Sur sa fonction de prêtre à Nazianze après son retour* (*PG* 35, col. 828-832) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 136v-138.

11 = *Sur le sacre de Grégoire de Nysse* (*PG* 35, col. 832-841) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 196v-202 ; — 205, f. 187v-192 ; — 219, f. 81v-83v ; — 282, f. 213-218 ; — 312, f. 93-95 ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 219-226.

12 = *Sur l'épiscopat de Nazianze* (*PG* 35, col. 844-849) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 134v-135.

13 = *Sur le sacre d'Eulalios à Doara* (*PG* 35, col. 852-856) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 276r-v.

(5) Ce relevé laisse de côté le corpus des *Poèmes* et celui des *Lettres*, sauf les pièces qu'on peut trouver incorporées dans le corpus des *Discours*.

14 = *Sur le devoir d'aider les pauvres* (*PG* 35, col. 857-909) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 245-273v ; — 205, f. 240r-v, 241-242v, 261-266v, 243-248 (lacunes) ; — 219, f. 100-110 ; - 282, f. 258v-286 ; — 312, f. 113-124v ; *Synod. gr.*, pages 278-326.

15 = *Sur les Maccabées* (*PG* 35, col. 912-933) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 43v-54v ; — 205, f. 46v-57 ; — 219, f. 20v-24v ; — 282, f. 45v-55 ; — 312, f. 20-24v.

16 = *Sur son père et les dégats causés par la grêle* (*PG* 35, col. 933-964) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 273v-289v ; — 205, f. 213v-240 ; - 219, f. 110-116 ; - 282, f. 55v-70 ; — 312, f. 124v-131 ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 341-360 (incomplet).

17 = *Sur l'irritation d'un haut fonctionnaire* (*PG* 35, col. 964-981) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 213-216 ;

18 = *Éloge funèbre de Grégoire le Père* (*PG* 35, col. 985-1044) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 202v-213.

19 = *Sur Julien, agent des contributions* (*PG* 35, col. 1044-1064) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 67v-78v ; — 205, f. 69v-80 ; — 219, f. 29v-34 ; — 282, f. 82-92 ; — 312, f. 30-34 ; — 335, f. 65v-75v ; - 385, f. 1r-v, 2r-v (fragments commentés) ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 204-219.

20 = *Sur la doctrine et sur la place des évêques* (*PG* 35, col. 1065-1080) : 219, f. 160v-163.

21 = *Sur Saint Athanase d'Alexandrie* (*PG* 35, col. 1081-1128) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 202-225v ; — 205, f. 192v-213 ; — 219, f. 83v-92v ; — 282, f. 218-242 ; - 312, f. 95-105 ; — 385, f. 2v (fragment avec prologue et commentaire) ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 246-277.

22 = *Sur la paix III ou Troisième homélie irénique* (*PG* 35, col. 1132-1152) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 148v-152v.

23 = *Sur la paix* II ou *Deuxième homélie irénique* (*PG* 35, col. 1152-1168) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 145v-148v.

24 = *Sur Saint Cyprien* (*PG* 35, col. 1169-1193) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 54v-67 ; — 205, f. 57-69v ; — 219, f. 25-29v ; — 282, f. 70-82 ; - 312, f. 24v-29v ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 326-328, 329-341 (lacune).

25 = *Éloge du philosophe Héron* (*PG* 35, col. 1197-1225) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 216-220v.

26 = *Contre Maxime* (*PG* 35, col. 1228-1252) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 227-231v.

27 = *Contre Eunomios* ou *Premier discours théologique* (*PG* 36, col. 12-25) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 163-165v.

28 = *Sur la théologie* ou *Deuxième discours théologique* (*PG* 36, col. 25-72) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 165v-173v.

29 = *Premier discours sur le Fils* ou *Troisième discours théologique* (*PG* 36, col. 73-104) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 173v-179.

30 = *Second discours sur le Fils* ou *Quatrième discours théologique* (*PG* 36, col. 104-133) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 179-184.

31 = *Sur le Saint Esprit ou Cinquième discours théologique* (*PG* 36, col. 133-172) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 184v-191.

32 = *Sur les discussions théologiques* (*PG* 36, col. 173-212) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 152v-160v.

33 = *Contre les ariens* (*PG* 36, col. 213-237) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 223v-227.

34 = *Sur une délégation égyptienne arrivant à Constantinople* (*PG* 36, col. 241-256) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 221-223.

36 = *Sur lui-même* (*PG* 36, col. 265-280) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 231v-234.

37 = *Sur Matth. 19, 1-12* (*PG* 36, col. 281-308) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 271v-276.

38 = *Pour la Noël* (*PG* 36, col. 312-333) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 78v-91 ; - 205, f. 80v-91v ; — 219, f. 34-38v ; — 282, f. 92-102v ; — 312, f. 34v-39 ; — 335, f. 75v-86v ; *Synod. gr.* 300 : pages 64-75.

39 = *Pour l'Épiphanie* (*PG* 36, col. 336-360) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 148v-161 ; 205, f. 145v-156 ; — 219, f. 62v-67 ; — 282, f. 164-177 ; — 312, f. 67v-72v ; — 335, f. 140v-151v ; *Synod. gr.* 300 : pages 141-158.

40 = *Sur le baptême* (*PG* 36, col. 360-425) : *Dujcv. gr.* 60, f. 28-41v ; — 124, f. 1r-v, 2r-v (fragments) ; — 192, f. 161v-196v ; — 205, f. 156-187v ; 219, f. 67v-81v ; – 282, f. 177-212v ; — 312, f. 78-93 ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 158-204.

41 = *Pour la Pentecôte* (*PG* 36, col. 428-452) : *Dujcv. gr.* 192, f. 30v-43v ; — 205, f. 34v-46v ; 219, f. 15v-20v ; - 278, f. 169-170v (incomplet) ; — 282, f. 34-45 ; – 312, f. 14v-20 ; — 403, f. 1-8v ; — 451, feuillet unique r-v (fragment) ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 47-64.

42 = *Adieux au concile de Constantinople* (*PG* 36, col. 457-492) : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 225v-245 ; — 205, f. 248-260v (incomplet) ; — 219, f. 93-100 ; — 282, f. 242-258v ; — 312, f. 105-113 ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 226-246.

43 = *Sur Saint Basile* (*PG* 36, col. 493-605) : *Dujč. gr.* : *Dujč. gr.* 192, f. 91-148 ; – 205, f. 91v-145 ; - 219, f. 38v-62 ; — 282, f. 103-163v ; — 312, f. 43-67v ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 75-134, 135-141 (lacune).

44 = *Pour le dimanche dans l'octave de Pâques* (*PG* 36, col. 608-621) : *Dujč. gr.* 192 : f. 23-30v ; — 205 : f. 27-34v ; 219 : f. 13-15v ; — 282 : f. 26v-33v ; — 312 : 11v-14v ; *Synod. gr.* 300 : pages 37-47.

45 = *Pour la fête de Pâques II* (*PG* 36, col : 624-664) : *Dujč. gr.* 192 : f. 1-22v (acéphale) ; 205 : f. 5v-27 ; — 219 : f. 4-13 ; - 278, f. 148-154v, 155-169 (lacuneux et mutilé) ; — 282, f. 6v-26v ; — 312, f. 2-11v ; — 364, f. 213-228 ; *Synod. gr.* 300, pages 5-37.

Epist. 101 : *Première lettre à Clédonios* (*PG* 37, col. 176-193) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 234v-237 ; *Dujč. gr.* 410 et *cod. Musée Nation. Histor. Invent.* n° 16502, feuillet unique r-v (fragments).

Epist. 102 : *Seconde lettre à Clédonios* (*PG* 37, col. 193-201) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 237-238v.

Epist. 202 : *Lettre à Nectaire* (*PG* 37, col. 329-333) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 238v-239.

Lettre à Évagre (*PG* 46, col. 1101-1108 ; apocryphe) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 239-240v.

Sur Ézéchiel (*PG* 36, col. 665-669 ; apocryphe) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 277v-278.

Sur l'Ecclésiaste (*PG* 10, col. 988-1017 ; apocryphe) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 278-284.

Poème adressé à une religieuse (*PG* 37, col. 632-642) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 276v-277.

Prière du soir ou Doxologie (*PG* 37, col. 511-514 ; poème) : *Dujč. gr.* 219, f. 240v.

Vie (*PG* 35, col. 244-304 ; œuvre de Grégoire le prêtre) : *Dujč. gr.* 368, f. 345-367 ; *Synod. gr.* 300, f. 446-488.

Testament (*PG* 37, col. 389-396) : *Dujč. gr.* 253, f. 279-281.

Université Catholique de Louvain J. MOSSAY.
Louvain-la-Neuve.

«DANS LA LANGUE DE NOS PÈRES»

Le Professeur Barry Baldwin se posait naguère la question : *Theophylaktos connaissait-il le latin?* (1). Il s'agit de Theophylaktos Simokattes, secrétaire impérial et préfet, qui vécut sous Héraclius (610-640) (2) et qui a laissé, outre des ouvrages techniques, des *Histoires*, en huit livres, sur le règne de l'empereur Maurice (582-602). Dans une note récente (2), cet auteur reprend le problème en se demandant quel sens il faut donner à l'expression *πατρώᾳ φωνῇ* (3) que Theophanes Confessor, l'abréviateur de Theophylaktos, sous le règne de Constantin Copronyme (741-775), utilise pour les termes de commandement '*τόρνα, τόρνα, φράτερ*' (5). Relatant les mêmes événements (6), Theophylaktos se contente de l'expression *ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ*. Ce savant arrive à la conclusion que «the expressions of both Theophylact and Theophanes *can* refer to Latin, but *cannot* be assumed so to do». Cette remarque me suggère une réflexion complémentaire. D'après le *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* de Du Cange (VI, p. 611) (7), qui mentionne bien l'emploi militaire du verbe *tornare* (*unde in uocibus, quibus Duces inter praeliandum utebantur...*), ce mot est d'origine pannonienne ou avare ou encore hongroise. En effet, paradoxalement, il n'est pas surprenant de rencontrer dans ces régions qui ont été peu soumises à l'influence de Rome des emprunts à la langue latine (8). Plusieurs témoignages

(1) *Theophylact's Knowledge of Latin*, dans *Byz.* 47 (1977), pp. 357-360 [repris dans *Studies on Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language*, Amsterdam 1984 (London Studies in Classical Philology, 12), pp. 331-4]. On verra aussi L. M. Whitby, *Theophylact's Knowledge of Languages*, dans *Byz.* 52 (1982), pp. 425-428, qui conclut en disant qu'il n'y a pas plus d'arguments en faveur que contre la connaissance du latin de Theophylaktos. En tant que personnage de la haute bureaucratie, il va presque de soi qu'il ait connu au moins quelques mots latins, mais, comme beaucoup de ses contemporains, ses connaissances devaient être assez élémentaires, peut-être limitées à la maîtrise d'une terminologie purement figée.

(2) K. Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteraturgeschichte*, Munich 1897² (Handbuch der Altertumsw., IX, 1), pp. 247-252.

(3) *'Torna, torna, Phrater': What Language?*, dans *Byz.* 67 (1997), pp. 264-267.

(4) La traduction d'Anastase, bibliothécaire pontifical, réalisée entre 873 et 875, donne : (...) *acclamat onus erigere patria uoce dicens.*

(5) *Chronographie*, p. 258, l. 15-16 (de Boor).

(6) *Hist.*, II, 15, 6-10.

(7) Voir aussi *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, II, 1586-1587.

(8) H. Mihaescu, *La langue latine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Bucarest-Paris 1978, pp. 73-168.

attestent sans ambiguïté la diffusion de la langue de Rome dans ces contrées (9). Il n'y a pas de doute que l'expression *πατρώᾳ φωνῇ* et l'adverbe *πατρίως* désignent, dans la plupart des cas, le latin. Parfois, quand le contexte ne laisse planer aucun doute, ils qualifient la langue de l'endroit, comme on le voit chez Flavius Josèphe (10). De même que *ἑλληνικῶς* veut dire «en langue grecque», mais aussi «à la manière grecque», l'emploi de l'adverbe *πατρίως* dépasse parfois la sphère linguistique pour qualifier le comportement ou l'attitude de façon générale. Si le sens de *πατρίως* ne pose pas de problème, encore faut-il se demander pourquoi les auteurs grecs ont utilisé cet adverbe pour désigner le latin plutôt que d'autres expressions plus banales et plus courantes, dont l'emploi varie avec le temps : *ῥωμαϊστί*, *ῥωμαϊκῶς*, *ῥωμαΐζω*, *Ῥωμαίᾳ γλώττῃ* (*φωνῇ*)... (11). Il y a, semble-t-il, deux raisons. La première est d'ordre historique. Le recours à des expressions qui ne comportent pas l'élément *ῥωμ-* est lié à la spécialisation du terme *Ῥωμαῖος* qui, sur le plan ethnique (12), remplace peu à peu *Ἕλληνες*, utilisé pour désigner le «païen» (13). Dès l'époque d'Hadrien (14), un *Ῥωμαῖος* est un citoyen de l'Empire, quelle que soit sa langue. La seconde est idéologique et procède de la politique de Justinien. En fait, l'emploi linguistique de *πατρίως* est un héritage du latin, qui, à partir du Ier siècle av. J.-C., désigne volontiers la langue du Latium par l'expression hypocoristique *patrius sermo*, même si c'est la plupart du temps pour en souligner l'*egestas*, surtout en matière philosophique (15). Pour les Latins, la langue locale, celle que parlaient leurs ancêtres, constitue un élément d'autonomie culturelle qui leur permet de prendre leurs distances vis-à-vis du grec (16), langue importée dans le Latium, selon une tradition ancienne,

(9) FLAVIUS VOPISCUS, *Diuus Aurelianus*, 24, 3 et VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, II, 110, 5 (cf. Br. ROCHETTE, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, Bruxelles 1997 [Collection Latomus, 233], p. 84 et n. 142, où l'on trouvera toute la bibliographie).

(10) *BJ* V, 2, 1 (51).

(11) Sur les différentes façons de désigner le latin en grec, cf. J. KRAMER, *Ῥωμαῖοι und Λατῖνοι*, dans *Festschrift für Albrecht Dihle*, Göttingen 1993, pp. 235-240.

(12) Sur le sens de *Ῥωμαῖος* chez les auteurs byzantins (Libanios, Julien, Thémistios, Synésios, Zosime, Procope de Césarée, Jean le Lydien, Origène, Eusèbe, Jean Chrysostome, Grégoire de Nazianze, Théodoret, Socrate), cf. J. PAIM, *Rom, Römertum und* Imperium Romanum *in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit*, Lund 1959, pp. 86, 93, 95-98, 102, 104, 110-111, 121-122.

(13) I. OPELT, *Griechische und lateinische Bezeichnungen der Nichtchristen*, dans *Vigiliae Christianae* 19 (1965), pp. 5-9.

(14) Le commentaire des chaînes aux *Actes des Apôtres* (22, 27 : *σὺ Ῥωμαῖος εἶ ;*) : *ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἀδριανοῦ φασι πάντας εἶναι Ῥωμαίους* est on ne peut plus clair sur ce point.

(15) LUCRÈCE, I, 832 et III, 260. Dans la littérature latine, l'*egestas patrii sermonis* devient un *locus communis* après Lucrèce.

(16) B. WIELE, *Lateinische Sprache und römische Nationalität. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Sprachbewusstseins bei den Römern*, diss., Berlin 1979.

à laquelle Jean le Lydien fait écho (17), par Évandre et ses compagnons, à l'époque de la guerre de Troie. Le nationalisme poussera même Cicéron à affirmer, force arguments à l'appui, que le latin est plus riche que le grec (18). S'il a une valeur nationale, voire nationaliste, l'adverbe *πατρίως* implique aussi une certaine nostalgie des usages anciens et une volonté politique de les restaurer (19). Ainsi un passage du *De magistratibus* (20) de Jean le Lydien montre-t-il clairement qu'à l'époque de Justinien l'usage du latin, la *πάτριος φωνή*, comme l'empereur se plaît à l'appeler lui-même dans ses *Nouellae* (21), c'est-à-dire la «langue nationale de l'Empire», est associé à la pérennité de l'Empire, représentée sous la forme de la *Τύχη τῶν Ῥωμαίων* (22). Né en Illyrie, une province de l'Empire fortement latinisée, Justinien ne cache pas son admiration pour la langue de Rome, qui, faute d'être la langue de la culture, est récupérée pour préserver le patrimoine juridique. Le latin devient la langue du droit, dont l'empereur est l'incarnation. Ne plus utiliser «la langue des pères» condamnerait l'Empire à sa perte. Déplacé vers l'Est par Constantin, le centre de gravité de l'Empire, la *Νέα Ῥώμη*, baigne désormais dans un milieu de culture grecque. Il est donc essentiel de retrouver les fondements idéologiques qui justifient l'emploi du latin comme langue officielle si ses dirigeants ne veulent pas le voir sombrer dans la culture et la langue grecques

(17) *De magistratibus*, I, 5 (= CATON, *Origines*, I, 19 et le commentaire de M. CHASSIGNET, *Caton. Les origines (fragments)*, Paris 1986, p. 17).

(18) *De finibus*, I, 10 et III, 5 ; *Tusc.*, II, 35. Le comportement de Cicéron vis-à-vis du grec ne laisse pas d'être ambigu. Sur le plan théorique, son orgueil ne lui permet pas d'admettre, comme bon nombre de ses contemporains, la supériorité des Grecs dans le domaine littéraire et lexical. En revanche, au niveau pratique, il est bien obligé de recourir à une terminologie en langue grecque, même s'il s'efforce de forger des néologismes latins pour les concepts philosophiques. – Sur les rapports culturels entre la Grèce et Rome, voir, en dernier lieu, G. VOGT-SPIRA, *Die Kulturbegegnung Roms mit den Griechen*, dans M. SCHUSTER (éd.), *Die Begegnung mit dem Fremden*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1996 (Colloquium Rauricum, 4), pp. 11-33 (avec une bibliographie).

(19) Comme cela avait déjà été le cas sous le puriste Tibère (cf. VALÈRE MAXIME, II, 2, 2, étudié par M. DUBUISSON, *Y a-t-il une politique linguistique romaine?*, dans *Ktèma* 7 [1982], pp. 187-216).

(20) II, 12 (= III, 42), que je commente dans une note intitulée *Justinien et la langue latine. À propos d'un prétendu oracle rendu à Romulus d'après Jean le Lydien*, dans *BZ* (à paraître).

(21) H. JONES, Justiniani Nouellae *ou l'autoportrait d'un législateur*, dans *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 35 (1988), pp. 149-208 (spéc. pp. 153-154). Partageant son enthousiasme pour le latin avec son questeur Tribonien, Justinien appelle couramment le latin *paterna uox, patriae nostrae uox, patria lingua* (cf. *Nov.*, 7, 1 ; 13, pr. ; 15, pr. ; 17, pr. ; 22, 2 ; 30, 5 ; 69, pr. ; 146, 1, pr.).

(22) Dès 450, le latin avait cessé d'être la langue d'usage normal dans l'entourage de l'empereur (cf. G. DAGRON, *Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine : langue de culture et langue d'État*, dans *RH* 241 [1969], pp. 23-56).

et uniquement grecques (23). Après les auteurs, comme Jean le Lydien, qui se sont employés à promouvoir la politique justinienne, favorable à l'emploi du latin dans l'administration des provinces, la valeur linguistique de πατρίως a persisté. C'est cet adverbe plutôt que les expressions formées sur Ῥωμαῖος, ambiguës, puisqu'elles finissent par signifier «en grec» (24), qui continuera de servir pour désigner la vieille langue des Latins, la «langue des pères». Plus tard encore, lorsque d'autres nationalismes se feront jour et entreront en concurrence avec l'Empire de Constantinople, on opposera volontiers πάτριος et ὑπερόριος (25).

En conclusion, les deux expressions me paraissent synonymes, à cette nuance près qu'elles portent une empreinte différente : celle de Theophylaktos est neutre, tandis que celle de Theophanes a, au départ, une valeur apologétique, même si, avec le temps, elle s'est vraisemblablement atténuée.

Université de Liège. Bruno ROCHETTE.

(23) On verra H.-I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1976⁷, pp. 378-379. En outre, le latin à Byzance a été étudié par plusieurs auteurs. À la liste établie dans mon article *Des pèlerins latins en Terre Sainte. Rencontre de langues et de cultures*, dans *Byz.* 66 (1996), p. 363, n. 1, on ajoutera la contribution de N. HORSFALL, *Transmissione del latino a Constantinopoli : ritorno dei testi in patria*, dans *Messana* 16 (1993), pp. 75-94 [*non uidi*].

(24) G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 1219.

(25) Sur la vaste problématique de l'étranger dans le monde byzantin et des relations entre Byzance et les peuples voisins, cf. e.a. K. LECHNER, *Byzanz und die Barbaren*, dans *Saeculum* 6 (1955), pp. 292-306 (spéc. pp. 292-293) ; I. DUJČEV, *Il problema delle lingue nazionali nel medio evo e gli slavi*, dans *Ricerche slaviche* 8 (1960), pp. 39-60 et G. PODSKALSKY, *Das Verhältnis von Griechen und Bulgaren*, dans *Bsl* 39 (1978), pp. 38-41.

COMPTES RENDUS

Pascal BOULHOL, *'ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΟΣ La scène de reconnaissance dans l'hagiographie antique et médiévale*, Aix-en-Provence, 1996 ; un vol. in-16, 252 pp. (Publication de l'Université de Provence).

L'étude des *topoi* hagiographiques est un domaine qui suscite de plus en plus d'intérêt chez les chercheurs modernes. C'est dans ce cadre que s'inscrit l'ouvrage de P.B. qui étudie, dans une douzaine de récits chrétiens des six premiers siècles, le motif de la scène de reconnaissance qui survient, après une séparation, entre le saint et ses proches. Cette séparation peut être accidentelle ou volontaire et correspond à une double forme de reconnaisssance, d'inspiration divine ou humaine.

L'auteur examine pour commencer le cadre temporel de la reconnaissance hagiographique, son lieu et son moment, avant d'envisager sa fonction, essentiellement sotériologique puisqu'elle révèle la métamorphose de l'âme chez celui qui est reconnu et la conversion chez le parent qui reconnaît, un trait dont P.B. souligne la signification nouvelle par rapport au roman profane.

Il envisage ensuite un nouveau thème de l'*ἀναγνωρισμός* chrétien, celui de la séparation dans la proximité, qui permet de concilier isolement monastique et devoir familial laïque.

P.B. examine encore le motif du nouveau départ après la reconnaissance, qui apparaît dans les textes à partir du ve s. et il envisage la différence entre l'idéal familial profane et hagiographique, où le saint quitte la société en quête d'absolu et illustre le thème de la *ξενιτεία* ascétique.

Pour terminer, l'auteur envisage la postérité médiévale du thème dans l'hagiographie, révélée par le nombre de traductions, de transpositions et de créations, ainsi que par l'importance de la tradition manuscrite de ces récits.

Il conclut en notant que, si la scène de reconnaissance chrétienne réutilise des motifs profanes, elle les met cependant au service de la spiritualité ascétique puisque l'hagiographie récupère le thème au prix d'une complète inversion des rôles et des fonctions, menant le héros vers la Vraie Reconnaissance, qui aura lieu dans la gloire et la plénitude céleste.

L'ouvrage comprend en outre cinq appendices concernant les sources et leurs héros, le motif de la reconnaissance dans les scènes d'arrestation de saint et l'influence de l'*ἀναγνωρισμός* odysséen sur les hagiographes. Il s'achève par un index des citations bibliques, des auteurs, des saints et des signes de reconnaissance hagiographiques.

L'intérêt majeur de cet ouvrage bien documenté réside dans sa tentative d'analyser les *topoi* en tant que tels et de leur rendre leur valeur littéraire et historique, une optique qui ne manquera pas de susciter les réactions favorables des amateurs d'hagiographie byzantine.

À propos de ce que P.B. désigne comme «le silence de la nature» ou l'«immobilité des entrailles» (1), j'évoquerai rapidement (2) deux exemples assez curieux d'hagiographie grecque, celui de Matrona (3), et celui de Theodora d'Alexandrie (4), travesties des Ve-VIe s.

Matrona, par amour de Dieu et de la chasteté, quitte un mari cruel, présenté tout au long du récit comme un monstre, et part dans un monastère masculin constantinopolitain. Un pèlerinage place sur sa route son mari qui la cherche ; la sainte l'aperçoit, se baisse vers le sol et l'homme, à qui des femmes ont pourtant décrit l'aspect de Matrona, la croise sans la reconnaître.

Le départ de Theodora est une pénitence choisie par elle pour avoir cédé à un homme. Son mari, désespéré de cette fuite, supplie Dieu de lui révéler ce qui est arrivé à sa femme. Un ange lui annonce qu'il la rencontrera à Alexandrie, ce qui se produit. Theodora reconnaît son mari, s'adresse à lui et le salue mais lui, spirituellement aveuglé, ne réagit pas et ce n'est qu'après le départ de la sainte que l'ange lui révèle la vérité.

La rencontre de Matrona et de son époux doit s'envisager dans la perspective d'hérésie générale du récit, exprimée notamment par le rôle majeur des femmes à travers toute la *Vie*.

D'un point de vue hagiographique, Dieu prouve ainsi définitivement le soutien accordé à Matrona et prévient ainsi toute accusation d'hérésie. L'épisode constitue également une étape supplémentaire vers la sainteté puisqu'il motive le départ de la sainte pour un temple d'idoles, où elle affronte

(1) Après une séparation, le proche du saint ne reconnaît pas (tout de suite) son parent enfin retrouvé (cf. P. Boui hol., *Reconnaissance*, p. 30, n. 81 et pp. 124-126).

(2) Pour une analyse détaillée v. N. Delierneux, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine dans l'hagiographie orientale du IVe au VIIe siècle*, dans *Byz.* 67, 1 (1997), pp. 220-221. Sur Matrona, v. en outre A.-M. Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, Washington D.C., Dumb. Oaks Research Library and Coll., 1996, pp. 15-17 (Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, 1).

(3) *BHG* 1221, dans *AASS. Nov.* III, pp. 790-813.

(4) *BHG* 1727-1729, dans K. Wessely, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας*, dans *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K.K. Staatgymnasiums in Hernalis*, Vienne 1889, pp. 25-44.

maints démons. Enfin, dans une perspective théologique plus large, il marque encore le triomphe absolu de la chasteté sur le mariage, aussi saint soit-il.

Le cas de Theodora, lui, diffère sur deux points de celui de Matrona : tout d'abord, c'est un ange qui annonce la rencontre à son mari et lui décrit Theodora ; en second lieu, celle-ci adresse spontanément la parole à son mari lorsqu'elle le voit venir à elle.

En effet, si, comme chez Matrona, l'éventualité de retrouvailles réelles était inconcevable, si aussi, comme chez Matrona, l'acte de la sainte et l'orthodoxie du récit se trouvent pleinement justifiés par le soutien divin miraculeux si évidemment manifesté dans cet épisode, il faut se rappeler que la fuite de Theodora est une pénitence, non une délivrance comme chez la travestie de Constantinople : la rencontre sert en quelque sorte de «confession» et de réconciliation familiale et l'auteur ne peut donc représenter la sainte fuyant son époux avec l'énergie de Matrona, ni laisser sans réponse huit années de prières d'un mari sincèrement effondré.

En fin de compte, chaque hagiographe exploite la situation de façon à provoquer dans l'esprit des lecteurs un effet bien déterminé. Les exemples cités donnent une idée de l'utilité que le jeu des *topoi*, aussi communs soient-ils, peut acquérir en temps qu'instrument de réponse à des nécessités historiques, théologiques ou littéraires.

Si l'examen de ce «jeu» est sans grande, pour ne pas dire sans aucune efficacité en ce qui concerne la vie du saint lui-même, les renseignements qu'elle peut nous offrir sur l'état d'esprit et les mentalités de ceux qui s'intéressaient à ses exploits suffisent à en justifier l'utilisation, dans un domaine où tant reste encore à faire.

N. Delierneux.

Christian Högel (ed.), *Metaphrasis. Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, Oslo, 1996 ; un vol. in-8, 82 pp. (The Research Council of Norway. KULTs skriftserie, 59).

Dans une optique qui se déclare à bon droit exempte de préjugés historiques, Chr. Högel rassemble quatre contributions concernant le principe de la *metaphrasis* dans la littérature méso-byzantine.

En premier lieu (pp. 7-21), Chr. Högel étudie une catégorie de récits de l'œuvre de Syméon Métaphraste, les *Martyria*, et examine, dans une perspective globale, les changements apportés par les auteurs métaphrastiques aux œuvres originales.

Dans la seconde contribution (pp. 22-41), E. Schiffer examine quelques aspects de la méthode métaphrastique, à partir des dossiers hagiographiques d'Amphilochios d'Ikonion (*BHG* 72, 73, 74, 75), de Pierre d'Alexandrie (*BHG* 1502, 1502a, 1503) et d'Alypius le Stylite (*BHG* 64, 65 et 66d). Se basant,

pour les versions prémétaphrastiques de ces trois récits, sur un manuscrit grec de l'abbaye de Douai daté du XIe siècle par le P. Halkin, l'auteur se livre à une comparaison des différentes versions et identifie des préférences et des rejets chez le rédacteur du Ménologue.

Dans le troisième chapitre (pp. 42-58), J. O. Rosenquist examine la seconde version de la Vie de Saint Philarète (*BHG* 1512). L'auteur montre comment l'hagiographe a supprimé des traits originaux pour adapter son récit aux exigences des mentalités de son époque, respecter le bon goût de ses contemporains et ne pas paraître manquer de respect face au saint.

Enfin, S. Efthymiadis (pp. 59-77) étudie, essentiellement à propos des rédactions originales, la prospérité de la production de *Vies* de Saints aux IXe et Xe siècles et il examine le statut de leurs commanditaires et de leurs lecteurs, ainsi que l'évolution, d'un point de vue littéraire et stylistique, des goûts hagiographiques.

Cette intéressante synthèse, sur un thème qui est loin d'avoir encore livré tous ses secrets, s'achève par une liste chronologique des œuvres hagiographiques des IXe-Xe siècles (pp. 78-80), reprenant les noms du saint, du commanditaire éventuel et de l'auteur, le numéro de classification dans la *BHG* et la date approximative de rédaction.

La présence de ce tableau ne pourra que réjouir les historiens confrontés au problème épineux de l'identification des sources. Nous regretterons simplement que, dans une colonne intitulée à juste titre «tentative dating», la présentation des dates données aux rédactions des textes revête, dans bon nombre de cas, un caractère fixé et définitif des plus regrettables, et ce sans la moindre justification bibliographique ou textuelle.

On notera en outre l'absence, dans cette liste, de l'éloge funèbre de Théoctiste (*BHG* 2422), pourtant citée p. 70, n. 32 et celle de la *Vie* d'Irène de Chrysobalanton (*BHG* 952), éditée par J. O. Rosenquist et qui, citée à la p. 38, n. 48, aurait sans doute mérité d'être mentionnée, même si la fourchette chronologique de sa période de rédaction (976-1025 d'après l'éditeur, p. XVIII) dépasse légèrement la fin du Xe siècle.

Il reste que l'entreprise de Chr. Högel, qui apparaît presque comme une œuvre de pionnier, constitue un apport essentiel pour notre approche des mécanismes qui ont motivé et organisé cette partie fondamentale de la littérature byzantine que constitue l'hagiographie.

N. DELIERNEUX.

Jean-Noë GUINOT, *L'Exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr*, Paris, Beauchesne Éditeur, 1995, 879 pp.

Dans ce livre, fruit de longues recherches et d'une documentation exhaustive, publié avec le concours du CNRS, l'auteur nous invite à une brillante analyse

de l'œuvre exégétique de Théodoret de Cyr. Tirant profit d'une argumentation détaillée, basée sur une connaissance profonde de l'exégèse grecque des IVe-Ve siècles, ainsi que de l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Théodoret, J.-N. Guinot décrit, avec beaucoup de talent, la méthode herméneutique de l'exégète ; il étudie son œuvre à la fois dans le cadre de la tradition exégétique antiochienne et alexandrine que du point de vue polémique et doctrinal, dans la perspective de l'histoire de l'Église et des solutions christologiques du Ve siècle.

L'ouvrage se présente en neuf chapitres, précédés d'un avant-propos, d'une notice bibliographique avec les abréviations employées et d'une introduction qui situe l'étude de l'exégèse de Théodoret par rapport aux travaux existants sur l'exégèse grecque des premiers siècles chrétiens, et suivis d'une conclusion générale, particulièrement dense. Cinq annexes, sur la critique textuelle de Théodoret, les termes techniques de son exégèse, son lexique, les termes polémiques par lesquels il se réfère aux hérésies et aux idoles, ainsi que sur sa terminologie christologique, complètent ce volume. Chaque chapitre reproduit aussi ce schéma, étant lui-même divisé en parties, précédées d'un bref commentaire d'entrée en matière et suivies d'une conclusion, conçue pour éclairer la lecture et reprenant les points forts étudiés précédemment.

Dans ce contexte, les trois premiers chapitres, consacrés successivement à l'entreprise exégétique de Théodoret dans son ensemble, à l'etude du prophétisme et du rôle des prophètes dans son œuvre et à l'analyse du discours scriptuaire, permettent déjà de mettre en évidence les fondements de son exégèse. En étudiant la place qu'occupent les commentaires dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Théodoret et dans le cadre de son activité à la fois pastorale et polémique au cours des querelles doctrinales de l'époque, J.-N. Guinot nous présente déjà avec le contrôle scrupuleux des sources, l'originalité de sa méthode d'exégète, ainsi que la finalité de son exégèse, donnée comme preuve des positions orthodoxes soutenues par Théodoret dans les débats christologiques qui furent au centre des préoccupations des conciles d'Éphèse (431 après J.-C.) et de Chalcédoine (451 après J.-C.).

Son analyse du prophétisme ne se lance pas dans la controverse concernant le rôle et la signification des prophéties, dans la suite des discussions sur le sens ou l'absence de sens de l'art de la prédication qui existaient tout au long du IVe siècle jusqu'à l'interdiction de l'enseignement de cet art par Valentinien Ier, cf. M. Th. FÖGEN, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager : Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantique*, Frankfurt a.M. 1993. Elle se fait dans l'optique du prophétisme scriptuaire, hérité d'une tradition, longue déjà au Ve siècle, d'exégètes chrétiens usant de l'argument de la prophétie pour faire l'apologie du christianisme. Elle sert ainsi à dessiner pour nous un premier portrait de Théodoret-exégète et à présenter les principes qui le guident : de par sa manière de considérer la prophétie à la fois comme une marque d'inspiration divine (tenant, à la suite de la tradition patristique,

la Bible entière comme divinement inspirée) et comme un texte littéraire sujet à organisation interne et à transmission, c'est-à-dire donnant lieu à une critique textuelle, et cela tout en privilégiant son caractère messianique, Théodoret apparaît comme une figure majeure de l'exégèse grecque du Ve siècle : opérant de nombreux rapprochements entre les textes de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, l'exégète avait entrepris de soulever le voile de l'«obscurité» de l'Écriture – reprenant parfois en cela les termes même d'Origène, adoptés entre-temps par l'exégèse grecque dans sa totalité –, et de démontrer, avec une remarquable intelligence du message messianique, la cohésion de l'Écriture.

Les trois chapitres suivants traitent de la critique textuelle dans les commentaires de Théodoret, de sa méthode exégétique et des composantes de son interprétation, et constituent le noyau central de cette analyse. L'auteur y met en valeur la spécificité de Théodoret en tant qu'exégète. Par une étude approfondie de l'ensemble de son œuvre herméneutique, il nous précise, peu à peu, l'image de l'évêque de Cyr au travail, mettant en évidence son souci de contrôler son texte : Théodoret avait, en effet, eu recours, afin de mieux éclairer le texte de la Septante — dont, toutefois, il ne mettait pas en cause l'autorité reconnue —, à différentes versions circulant à l'époque. Par ailleurs, confrontant scrupuleusement chaque commentaire à ceux qui auraient pu lui servir de modèles afin d'y relever dans quelle mesure Théodoret est tributaire de ses prédécesseurs, tels que S. Jean Chrysostome, Théodore de Mopsueste, Eusèbe de Césarée et même Origène, J.-N. Guinot procède à une revalorisation de son originalité en matière de critique textuelle.

Suit un examen détaillé du processus herméneutique de Théodoret, montrant clairement la manière dont se définissait sa méthode par rapport aux écoles exégétiques du Ve siècle. En effet, d'après les principes exposés dans les préfaces de ses commentaires, Théodoret employait les trois modes de lecture du texte en usage à l'époque : a) la lecture selon le sens littéral du texte, où l'interprétation historique tient une place prepondérante. Cette lecture à partir des procédés de critique textuelle et littéraire, (lexicographiques, stylistiques, linguistiques, etc.), formait, dans la meilleure tradition antiochienne, la base de l'interprétation de Théodoret ; b) la lecture selon le sens figuré ou métaphorique, chère à l'école alexandrine, et c) la lecture typologique, faisant de l'Ancien Testament la préfiguration du Nouveau, et cherchant dans le second le sens ultime des termes du premier, lecture souvent préférée par notre exégète, afin de souligner la portée messianique de l'Écriture.

Ainsi Théodoret à su s'ouvrir aux influences alexandrines, exploitant le sens spirituel du texte et tirant parti de l'analyse de figures telles qu'hyperboles, métonymies et métaphores, dont l'emploi se trouvait pleinement justifié à son époque par la pensée néoplatonicienne percevant le monde visuel en tant que reflet du monde spirituel (cf. H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton 1981, réédition 1994, p. 15). En effet, il invite souvent son lecteur

à identifier, par exemple, «Jérusalem, ville riche» à la richesse spirituelle de l'Église ou les «captifs» aux hommes déchus, ayant perdu leur liberté première et liés par le péché. Toutefois, par un usage presque codifié des figures analysées, Théodoret à su aussi éviter les excès de ce mode de lecture.

D'autre part, en présentant les composantes de l'interprétation de Théodoret, J.-N. Guinot dégage les mérites de la méthode rigoureuse de l'exégète et sa maîtrise parfaite du commentaire linéaire. Théodoret procédait en effet à partir d'un examen de la lettre du texte, suivant un schéma de préface-argumentation. Ce n'est qu'après avoir épuisé les remarques d'ordre linguistique, lexicographique et stylistique, ainsi que l'analyse à l'aide de l'histoire, de la géographie et même des sciences et techniques, qu'il passait à l'interprétation métaphorique ou typologique. Il traitait chaque texte en fonction de sa nature propre, suivant un enchaînement logique d'interprétation et confrontant constamment le texte commenté à la réalité historique, tout en restant vigilant à la cohérence de l'ensemble du texte scriptuaire et à sa dimension néo-testamentaire. Ce cadre logique, ainsi que la voie moyenne adoptée en exégèse par l'évêque de Cyr, à mi-chemin entre antiochiens et alexandrins, évitant les abus de l'historicité antiochienne aussi bien que ceux de l'allégorie alexandrine exagérée, ajoutent à la clarté de son exégèse et, comme J.-N. Guinot le souligne avec justesse, font ressortir son autonomie par rapport à ses modèles.

Les chapitres septième et huitième sont consacrés successivement à la polémique et à la christologie de Théodoret. Les commentaires de l'évêque de Cyr mettent, en effet, souvent en cause, par des attaques presque traditionnelles, l'idolâtrie, les conceptions juives de la Divinité, ainsi que les hérésies des premiers siècles chrétiens qui, d'ailleurs, retiennent l'attention de l'exégète beaucoup plus que les hérésies qui lui sont contemporaines. Cette polémique fait, de la part de J.-N. Guinot, l'objet d'une analyse argumentée et précise. Examinant en détail le vocabulaire, les thèmes et leur structure, ainsi que la fonction de chaque type de polémique, l'auteur étudie son actualité pour le ve siècle ainsi que sa finalité exégétique.

Car, même si Théodoret avait, en tant qu'évêque, à faire face à des survivances de paganisme ou à quelques agissements juifs ou hérétiques dans son diocèse, sa polémique ne présente ni la véhémence, ni la virulence de l'actualité. Elle fournit toutefois l'occasion d'un commentaire doctrinal qui, réfutant les thèses et hérésies du passé, soulignait l'apport antiochien en la matière, face à l'apport alexandrin (cf. aussi récemment, A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IVe siècle (328-373)*, Rome 1996) d'habitude mis en avant. Théodoret apportait ainsi, indirectement, sa propre contribution à la problématique christologique de son siècle. Par ailleurs, cette dimension christologique ne saurait pas être absente de l'œuvre d'un auteur engagé (principal adversaire de Cyrille d'Alexandrie) dans les débats sur le mode de l'union de deux natures du Christ au moment de l'Incarnation, prépondérants

au ve siècle. L'analyse de J.-N. Guinot met en lumière la manière subtile et indirecte par laquelle les commentaires de Théodoret servent à démontrer le fondement scriptuaire et par conséquent l'orthodoxie des thèses dyophysites défendues par les antiochiens.

Le dernier chapitre sur les sources de l'exégète regroupe, répartis par texte scriptuaire commenté, plus de deux cents extraits des commentaires de Théodoret, avec, chaque fois, des commentaires correspondants antérieurs. Il nous permet d'établir un exemple concret du travail de l'exégète, discutant et, selon le cas, adoptant ou rejettant les interprétations proposées.

Tout au long du livre J.-N. Guinot met en évidence la méthode herméneutique de Théodoret et souligne sa rigueur et sa cohésion dans la synthèse des traditions exégétiques d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie. Par ailleurs un appareil de notes très abondant, voire complet, aide à situer l'œuvre exégétique de Théodoret dans le cadre de la tradition patristique des IVe-Ve siècles. Dans ce contexte, ce n'est pas l'image de Théodoret-homme des lettres d'un syncrétisme discret qui est mise en valeur, ni celle de Théodoret-pasteur œuvrant pour le bien-être de son diocèse, même si cette dernière (confirmée d'ailleurs par la correspondance de l'exégète, cf. récemment I. G. TOMPKINS, *Problems of Dating and Pertinence in some Letters of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, dans *Byz.* 1995, pp. 176-195), surtout en ce qui concerne la direction spirituelle de son public, n'est pas absente, mais bien celle de Théodoret-théologien, exégète en chercheur scientifique, combinant le meilleur de l'exégèse grecque du ve siècle.

C'est dans une telle optique que ce travail, riche à la fois d'analyse par rapport à Théodoret et de synthèse par rapport à l'exégèse grecque, vient nourrir la réflexion sur les premiers siècles chrétiens, mettant en exergue la specificité de l'entreprise herméneutique de Théodoret de Cyr dans le contexte des luttes doctrinales et de l'histoire de l'Église à l'époque.

Nike KOUTRAKOU.

I. DJURIĆ, *Le crépuscule de Byzance*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1996, 430 pages + 18 planches hors texte. ISBN 2-7068-1097-1.

L'A. de ce volume se définit dans l'Avant-propos comme étant un byzantiniste issu de «l'école purement historique de Belgrade» et se place dans la lignée de son maître G. Ostrogorsky, qui, on le sait, s'intéressait particulièrement à l'idéologie impériale, à l'histoire économique et sociale et à la féodalité byzantine. Le volume, rédigé à Belgrade, il y a une dizaine d'années, a connu une nouvelle édition plus large à Zagreb, cinq ans après. Djurić s'installa depuis 1991 à Paris et sous l'influence du byzantinisme français a fait paraître une édition française revue. Dans cette édition, la partie la plus convaincante

est celle où l'A. s'occupe de l'analyse d'un nombre impressionnant de sources, d'origine non seulement byzantine, mais aussi slave, latine, espagnole, etc.

L'introduction du volume, portant le titre évocateur «L'Empire qui n'est pas» envisage la situation historique de l'empire byzantin déjà en fort déclin à la fin du XIVe s. N'étant plus en mesure de décider seul de sa destinée, l'empire devient un vassal des Ottomans. En outre, son endettement et sa dépendance économique et militaire des Vénitiens, la poussée de la féodalité au détriment du pouvoir central, les conflits au sein de la famille régnante, le rétrécissement territorial sont des phénomènes qui vont de pair avec la détermination des sultans de supplanter l'Empire par un État musulman et le développement du savoir-faire militaire de ces sultans.

Le corps du livre constitue une monographie de Jean VIII. L'A. discute les hypothèses concernant les actes et les voyages de cet empereur, analyse l'évolution des institutions et démontre l'avènement d'une nouvelle couche sociale, l'aristocratie de la capitale, issue des grands seigneurs fonciers de la province. A cette occasion sont étudiés les derniers soubresauts de la volonté impériale de renforcer et de protéger la Ville, comme d'ailleurs les rapports toujours difficiles avec la Curie romaine, mais aussi avec les Patriarches. Cela permet un exposé sur les diverses facettes à divers moments historiques de la grande question de l'époque, à savoir l'Union des Églises. A ce propos, l'empereur se souciait moins de la validité réelle d'une telle Union que des retombées pratiques qui succéderaient à une telle réconciliation ecclésiastique. Pour l'empereur, l'Union des Églises n'était pas un but en soi, mais un moyen de parvenir à son but, à savoir une aide conjuguée des "croisés" et de tout l'Occident. Or, le litige centenaire entre le pouvoir laïc et spirituel demeurera irrésolu jusqu'à la fin de l'empire. Cette partie est assortie d'une «annexe» dans laquelle l'A. se livre à une série de considérations plutôt philosophiques. Il s'étend, entre autres, sur la signification des termes «Rhômaioi» et «Grecs» qui selon lui indiquent deux choses différentes : le premier correspondait à l'idéologie de l'empire et le second désignait son être national.

En traçant les répercussions désastreuses des alliances et mésalliances continuelles entre certains membres de la famille impériale, l'A. trouve l'occasion de parler des forces centrifuges. La décomposition du pouvoir impérial d'un empire déjà fortement féodalisé ne faisait que favoriser les puissances étrangères. En même temps, l'affaiblissement de Venise au profit des Ottomans accentuait la dépendance de l'empire de centres de plus en plus éloignés et de plus en plus impossibles à influencer. Le livre étudie ainsi l'histoire du Péloponnèse, dernier territoire byzantin, et de Venise, allié-clé pour l'empire, durant le XIVe et le XVe s. La description documentée des échanges et des contacts incessants entre l'empire et la République de Venise, mais aussi avec Gênes, Milan, Florence, Thessalonique, les Îles Ioniennes, le Mont Athos, la papauté, la France, l'Angleterre, le roi Sigismond de Hongrie, les souverains

serbes, albanais, russes, polonais, ainsi qu'avec la dynastie ottomane, etc., permet au lecteur d'avoir une image générale du monde byzantin de ce dernier siècle de son existence et du monde environnant. De ce point de vue, l'ouvrage constitue une étude des réalités méditerranéennes, cette mer étant encore le centre de gravité du monde à la fin du moyen âge.

Un livre de grande qualité historique. A ses mérites il faut peut-être ajouter son écriture attrayante, son style de grande fraîcheur qui va même jusqu'à la pléthore des annotations.

Margarete LUY-DÄSCHLER.

EK 8184 (Projet international de sauvetage scientifique des Kellia), tome II : *Explorations aux Qouçoûr er-Roubâ'îyât*, Rapport des campagnes 1982 et 1983. Mission suisse d'archéologie copte de l'Université de Genève, sous la direction de Rodolphe KASSER. Louvain, Éditions Peeters, 1994, in-4°, XII-554 pages, avec 312 figures et 30 planches (144 figures dont la plupart en couleurs), plus une pochette contenant 7 dépliants et 2 plans. Prix : 4.500 BEF.

Le décès prématuré de notre savante collègue Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne l'a empêchée de rendre compte de ce monumental ouvrage. Il nous échoit l'ingrat et indigne privilège d'assumer ici une tâche qu'elle aurait accomplie avec bien plus de compétence.

L'admirable volume que nous avons sous les yeux est une de ces publications qui, par la richesse du contenu et la complexité des documents inédits qu'elles révèlent, sont quasi impossibles à résumer. Qu'il nous suffise de reproduire le sous-titre du livre pour montrer l'embarras où nous nous trouvons de détailler les nombreux chapitres et sous-chapitres consacrés aux divers sujets qu'ils traitent (topographie, architecture, épigraphie, peinture, catalogue d'objets découverts, etc.) concernant les 54 ermitages explorés par la MSAC et les 25 autres dégagés précédemment par le Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte : «Contributions de Françoise Bonnet Borel, Nathalie Bosson, Philippe Bridel, Pierre Cherix, Pierre Corboud, Sébastien Favre, Johannes Huntziker, Rodolphe Kasser, Lada Kečkeš Carazzetti, Jan Partyka, Marguerite Rassart-Debergh, Daniel Sierro, Werner Vycichl, Denis Weidmann, avec la collaboration de Françoise Burri, Marie-Isabelle Cattin, Giorgio Nogara».

Rappelons que les *kellia* sont les petits ermitages du monachisme égyptien des VIe et VIIe siècles, situés à l'ouest du Delta du Nil entre Alexandrie et Le Caire. L'étude minutieuse qui en est faite est d'autant plus précieuse que la plupart de ces vestiges ont déjà disparu à cause de l'extension des cultures. Leur description, qu'on attendait avec impatience depuis la sortie de presse du tome I d'*EK 8184* en 1983, est le fruit de quinze années d'élaboration,

délai qui se justifie par la masse d'éléments qu'il a fallu réunir. À titre d'exemple, les auteurs eux-mêmes citent le cas de l'ermitage QR 306 auquel est réservé tout le chapitre 8 (p. 275-347) : architecture, inscriptions et peintures sont analysées avec une remarquable précision.

Les spécialistes, archéologues et linguistes, trouveront là ce qu'on pourrait appeler un modèle du genre. Nous n'avons qu'une petite inquiétude. Alors que le volume est soigneusement relié, les plans et dépliants — indispensables pour la compréhension du texte — sont placés dans une pochette en papier qui ne nous paraît pas être une protection suffisante. Les bibliothèques publiques devront remédier à cet inconvénient en faisant confectionner, par leurs relieurs, un emboîtage en carton qu'aurait pu prévoir l'éditeur.

A. MEKHITARIAN.

CHRONIQUE

CERAMICA BYZANTINA

La céramique byzantine est un domaine qui attire de plus en plus les chercheurs spécialisés. Son développement est envisagé sous trois angles :

1° économique : les objets en céramiques sont des produits manufacturés destinés à être commercialisés, mais des récipients utilisés pour les transports de marchandises .

2° artistique : les objets en céramique soit par leur forme, soit par leur décoration expriment une esthétique et une conception de la beauté des artisans qui les ont créés.

3° historique : les objets en question à travers de leurs spécificité ou des inscriptions qu'ils portaient parfois, sont susceptibles d'éclairer l'histoire d'une époque ou d'une région particulière.

Nous recensons régulièrement dans *Byzantion* des études relatives à la céramique byzantine. Une coïncidence heureuse a fait qu'un nombre important d'ouvrages traitant ce sujet sont parvenus à la rédaction. Nous pensons qu'ils méritent une *Chronique* particulière.

Le livre-clé de Véronique François, *Bibliographie analytique sur la céramique byzantine à glaçure. Un nouvel outil de travail* (*Varia Anatolica*, IX), Paris, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes Georges Dumezil, Istanbul, 1997, 201 pages. ISBN 2-906053-44-9, comme son titre l'indique, groupe dans un ordre alphabétique 543 études consacrées à la céramique byzantine à glaçure ; une véritable encyclopédie de la céramique. Il s'agit d'un recensement systématique des publications parues de 1879 à 1994, et même d'un certain nombre de publications annoncées pour 1995. La période byzantine envisagée va du VIIe au XVe s. Le mode d'emploi de l'ouvrage est très clairement expliqué dans l'introduction, tandis que la liste des abréviations permet une lecture

facile des titres. Pour chaque publication est présentée une notice, complétée pour certains ouvrages fondamentaux d'une très courte appréciation. Il n'y a qu'une chose regrettable : que cet excellent travail se limite à la seule céramique à glaçure en laissant de côté la production industrielle (tuiles, briques, vases de transport, etc.), tandis que la céramique de la haute époque (considérée peut-être comme trop «romaine» ?) n'est pas prise en considération. Pouvons-nous espérer un second volume ?

Deux publications concernent les objets en céramique trouvés lors de fouilles effectuées sur des sites byzantins. Véronique FRANÇOIS, *La céramique byzantine à Thasos* (*École Française d'Athènes. Études Thasiennes*, XVI), Paris, École Française d'Athènes, 1995, 383 pages, dont 120 planches. ISBN 2-86958-070-3, donne un aperçu, aussi complet que possible, des objets en céramique, datés de la période byzantine, découverts par l'École Française d'Athènes à Thasos. Il s'agit de 444 fragments et de 27 profils complets (le catalogue couvre les pages 169 ss. du livre), tous esquissés, certains illustrés en noir et blanc et d'autres encore en couleur. Ces objets ont été fabriqués après le XIe et avant le XVIe s. Une petite partie est de fabrication locale ; plusieurs objets sont importés de Lemnos, de Thessalonique, de Constantinople, d'Asie Mineure, les îles de la Mer Égée, etc. La production thasienne démarre au XIIIe s. Les produits en céramique venant de loin montrent que Thasos était un lieu très fréquenté à partir du XIIIe et surtout durant le XIVe s. L'A. dans première partie du livre, intitulée *Les techniques de fabrications*, analyse le processus de la fabrication d'un pot depuis la terre jusqu'à sa mise à la disposition de l'utilisateur. Cette partie très utile se retrouve pratiquement dans tous les livres qui traitent de la céramique byzantine. Plusieurs considérations techniques y sont exposées. On trouve aussi dans pratiquement toutes les études de ce genre une analyse des formes des vases et une typologie de la décoration. Cette dernière permet la classification des objets suivant la technique utilisée, la gamme picturale et les glaçures appliquées. Un livre remarquable qui ne laisse personne sur sa faim.

Une étude inspirée par les mêmes principes est celle de J.-M. SPIESER, *Die byzantinische Keramik aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon* (= *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Pergamenische Forschungen*, Band 9), Berlin et N. York, Walter de Gruyter, 1996, 92 pages + 60 planches. ISBN 3-11-014958-3, qui groupe quelques 594 objets trouvés par

les archéologues de l'École allemande lors de ses campagnes de fouilles de 1973 à 1980 sur le site byzantin de Pergame. Les objets, qui sont tous illustrés, sont rarement datés. Si c'est le cas, les plus anciens sont entre la fin du XIIe/début du XIIIe s. et le XVe s. Les objets sont classés de différentes manières : selon la couleur de la terre, selon la technique de la fabrication, selon la décoration (peinte, gravée, à glaçure), selon les motifs décoratifs utilisés par les artistes et selon la forme des vases. L'A. fait aussi une distinction entre les objets fabriqués sur place et ceux qui sont importés. L'analyse est exemplaire. Même les très petits débris sont étudiés attentivement afin de livrer les informations utiles pour l'étude de la production locale des objets en terre cuite, mais aussi pour mesurer l'impact économique de cette production. L'étude servira non seulement aux spécialistes de la céramique, mais aussi à toute personne qui envisage l'étude de la région de Pergame vers la fin de l'empire byzantin.

Dimitra PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI, *Μεσαιωνικὴ ἐφυαλωμένη κεραμικὴ τῆς Κύπρου. Τὰ ἐργαστήρια Πάφου καὶ Λαπήθου*. Thessalonique, Ἵδρυμα Α. Γ. Λεβέντη, 1996, 222 pages + 71 planches hors texte. ISBN 9963-560-26-1, reste dans une perspective analogue, mais son étude est plus ample. Elle étudie la production céramique cypriote, qui, à cause du caractère insulaire de la région d'origne, présente une homogénéité artistique peu courante dans les autres sites de production. L'A. commence par une introduction historique ; la présentation de l'histoire cypriote dont les balises sont très clairement perçues puisqu'elles coïncident avec la fin de la présence byzantine sur l'île, en 1191, la domination franque (1191-1489), la domination vénitienne (489-1571) et finalement l'occupation turque. Après une introduction sur la céramique à glaçure, inspirée par l'étude de W. De Bock, vient un exposé très utile sur la terminologie utilisée et la méthodologie suivie. Les objets sont classés selon leur décoration et la technique appliquée par les artistes. Cette décoration est soit peinte, soit gravée, soit encore de la glaçure. La seconde partie constitue un catalogue des objets, groupés par atelier : celui de Paphos (160 pièces), dont la production va du XIIe au XIVe s., et celui de Lapithos (127 pièces), qui est productif du XIIe au XVIe s. Une étude remarquable et un outil de travail indispensable pour les archéologues, les historiens de l'art, mais aussi pour les historiens de l'économie da la région.

Le dernier livre à présenter s'écarte des autres ; c'est l'étude thématique de Catherine TROST et de Marie-Christine HELLMANN, *Lampes antiques*

du département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, III, Fonds général : *Lampes chrétiennes*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1996, 163 pages + 40 planches hors texte. ISBN 2-7177-1956-3. Ce volume envisage d'abord l'histoire de la constitution de la Collection conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France et dont les plus anciennes acquisitions remontent à 1670. La majorité des objets proviennent de l'Afrique du Nord, l'ancienne province d'Afrique proconsulaire romaine et puis byzantine. En second lieu, il y a des lampes d'origine égyptienne et en troisième lieu celles qui proviennent de Palestine, de Sicile, d'Asie Mineure et de Grèce. Finalement un très petit nombre de ces lampes ont été fabriquées par les Arabes. Pour les lampes africaines une étude typologique permet de distinguer des styles, des types et des ateliers. Cette analyse est complétée par une recherche sur l'aire de diffusion de ces objets. L'étude du décor donne lieu à une nouvelle typologie non moins significative pour le classement des lampes. Le catalogue réunit 224 objets présentés aussi minutieusement que possible. On est même impressionné par le nombre des détails évoqués pour la classification de ces objets qui à première vue paraissent fabriqués en série sans points distinctifs. Le grand problème reste sans doute la datation, mais même vaguement datées, les lampes antiques restent les témoins d'une vie quotidienne variée et d'une activité artisanale qui jusqu'à nos jours est celle d'un grand nombre d'ouvriers spécialisés en Afrique du nord.

Il est réjouissant qu'un secteur de l'archéologie byzantine jusqu'à présent peu représentatif prenne son élan et contribue à sa manière à la connaissance du passé, grâce aux trouvailles archéologiques et surtout grâce à la compétence de ses adeptes et à la qualité des ouvrages reçus par la rédaction.

Panayotis YANNOPOULOS.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής, Περίοδος Β, τεύχος *Τμήματος Φιλολογίας*, Thessalonique, 5 (1995), 313 pages.

Signalons l'étude de D. Z. Nikitas, *Bemerkungen zu Horologium Magnum*, pp. 129-137, qui traite du contenu et de la tradition manuscrite du livre liturgique byzantin en titre et dont le plus ancien manuscrit connu est le *codex Sinaïticus gr. 863* du IXe s. Le livre, qui réglait les rites journaliers, est de longueur différente et a même un contenu différent, selon les manuscrits.

P. Yannopoulos.

B. Asimomytis, G. Grydakis, Th. Katsoulakos, S. Kondis, Ch. Boulotis, B. Scoulatos, Η Πολιτισμική Προσφορά του Ελληνισμού από την Αρχαιότητα ως την Αναγέννηση. Α΄ Λυκείου, Athènes, Οργανισμός εκδόσεως διδακτικών βιβλίων, 1997 (Collection de l'Institut pédagogique du Ministère de l'éducation nationale). 349 pages, 295 × 170 mm. Abondamment illustré.

Ce manuel scolaire parvenu à *Byzantion* confirme la remarque de Platon.. *γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστιν* (*Timée*, 22b). Ils ont de la chance les élèves des classes de «première», dernière année des lycées de Grèce, qui disposent d'un manuel aussi soigné et aussi moderne ! Chaque période de l'histoire culturelle de la Grèce des origines à la Renaissance est traitée par des pédagogues particulièrement qualifiés. Chaque page est judicieusement illustrée. L'histoire de Byzance est développée avec une sérénité critique, qui ne s'encombre plus des préjugés traditionnels ; sa lecture vaut une cure de jouvence pour des spécialistes des études byzantines comme pour tout «philhellène» cultivé.

J. Mossay.

Atti del IV simposio di Tarso su S. Paolo Apostolo, éd. par L. Padovese (= *Turchia : la Chiesa e la sua storia*, 10), Rome, Istituto Francescano di Spiritualità, 1996, 295 pages.

Dans ce volume, essentiellement consacré aux études pauliniennes, deux articles intéressent les byzantinistes. En premier lieu l'article d'A. Carile, *Le*

campagne di Eraclio in Anatolia (pp. 247-254), qui, après un exposé sur les causes de la guerre byzantino-persie du VIIe s., analyse les retombées de la victoire byzantine sur les relations entre Byzance et les peuples de l'Extrême-Orient. En second lieu, l'article de F. MOSETTO, *La figura di San Paolo nei panegirici di San Giovanni Crisostomo* (pp. 205-218), qui exploite les homélies de Jean Chrysostome et aussi son oeuvre exégétique pour faire apparaître l'image de S. Paul tracée par ce Père de l'Église.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

G. BERTONIERE, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion : The Sundays Without a Commemoration* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 253), Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1997, 216 pages. ISBN 88-7210-315-0.

Étude consacrée aux 2ème, 4ème et 5ème dimanches du carême dans l'église orthodoxe d'Orient. Puisque le rituel actuel est d'origine byzantine, l'A. se lance dans une recherche à la fois historique et philologique. La célébration dominicale revêt, pendant la période du carême pascal, un caractère particulier, car elle est conçue dans un but préparatoire avant la grande fête de Pâques. La formation du *Triodion* a joué un rôle déterminant à la formulation du rite dominical du carême. Le *Triodion* est une collection des lectures et des chants, à usage liturgique, qui enveloppent les rites pendant la période du carême ; sa constitution doit être cherchée avant le Xe s., peut-être vers le IXe s. Le matériel liturgique avant la constitution du *Triodion*, comparé à celui qui lui est postérieur, indique qu'au départ le 1er et le 3ème dimanches du carême n'avaient aucun caractère spécial. En outre à cette époque existaient deux traditions parallèles : une constantinopolitaine et une hiérosolymitaine. La formation du *Triodion*, qui est à la base de l'uniformisation des traditions, n'a pas modifié la structure liturgique des dimanches du carême ; il a simplement ajouté des hymnes, des psaumes et des cantiques qui sont propres à cette période liturgique.

L'étude est assortie d'une série d'appendices qui forment le neuvième chapitre et qui concernent les document liturgiques, autres que le Triodion, qui sont en relation avec les dimanches du carême orthodoxe, à savoir des typica, des lectures, des hymnes isolés, etc.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th Century (*Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Διεθνή Συμπόσια*, 3), Athènes, 1996, 432 pages + 213 illustrations. ISSN 1106-1448. ISBN 960-7094-70-0.

Actes d'un colloque tenu à Athènes, en novembre 1993. Après la partie introductive, sont publiées les communications des congressistes suivants V.

J. Djurić, *L'art impérial serbe : marques du statut impérial et traits de prestige* (pp. 23-56), qui note que l'art serbe imite celui de Byzance tout en rivalisant avec lui dans l'éclat. Il se manifeste surtout dans le domaine ecclésiastique, où l'on trouve de bons artistes, mais moins raffinés que les Byzantins. L'art serbe essaye de s'imposer par les fresques énormes et par des édifices de grande taille. Mirjana Živojinović, *La frontière serbo-byzantine dans les premières décennies du XIVe siècle* (pp. 57-66), qui étudie les déplacements de la frontière en Macédoine, pendant la période entre 1282 (règne de Milutin) jusqu'à 1334 (règne de Dusan). La grande offensive des Serbes se situe après 1319 ; c'est grâce à elle que Ochrid et Florina sont devenues serbes. M. Popović, *Les forteresses dans les régions des conflits byzantino-serbes au XIVe siècle* (pp. 67-87), reste pratiquement dans le même domaine topographique et étudie les forteresses, les villes fortifiées (Ochrid et Servia) et les lignes fortifiées au long des frontières ou les positions naturellement difficiles à franchir comme les fleuves de Nestos et du Stymon. Eugenia Drakopoulou, *Η σερβική παρουσία στην Καστοριά τις παραμονές της τουρκικής κατάκτησης* (pp. 88-96), signale qu'après la prise de Kastoria par les Serbes en 1350, la ville connaît une relance artistique du fait d'être de nouveau en relation avec Ochrid. Cette situation euphorique n'a pas duré ; en 1375 la ville a été prise par les Albanais et est tombée dans le marasme. R. Mihaljčić, *Les batailles de la Meritza et de Kosovo. Les dernières décennies de la rivalité serbobyzantine* (pp. 97-109), note que les guerres entre Serbes et Byzantins ont montré l'impuissance de Byzance surtout à l'époque de Jean V. Mais après, les deux États chrétiens ont dû se réconcilier devant le danger turc. S. Ćirković, *Between Kingdom and Empire : Dusan's State (1346-1355). Reconsidered* (pp. 110-120), revoit toute la problématique des frictions entre Serbes et Byzantins dues au couronnement de Dusan comme empereur. N. Oikonomides, *Emperor of the Romans — Emperor of the Romania* (pp. 121-128), analyse la subtile terminologie des sources qui appellent *imperator Romanorum* (= des Romains), le successeur effectif de l'empire unitaire. Par contre, elles appellent *imperator Romaniae* l'empereur latin de Constantinople. Quand les Serbes utilisent le premier titre au XIVe s., ils expriment ainsi leurs vues sur Constantinople. B. Todić, *Portrails des saints Syméon et Sava au XIVe siècle. Contribution à la connaissance de l'idéologie de l'État et de l'Église serbes* (pp. 129-139), note qu'à Byzance le pouvoir impérial était donné par Dieu, ce qui n'était pas le cas pour les monarques serbes. Ils essayaient de légitimer leur situation en évoquant les ancêtres, d'où le développement du thème iconographique des premiers princes serbes, et de se présenter comme les défenseurs de la foi orthodoxe, d'où le développement du thème iconographique des portraits des saints. T. Papamastorakis, *Εικαστικές εκφάνσεις της πολιτικής ιδεολογίας του Στέφανου Dusan σε μνημεία της εποχής του και τα βυζαντινά πρότυπά τους*, (pp. 140-157), reste dans le même domaine et soutient

plus ou moins les mêmes positions : la politique serbe au XIVe s. fait penser à la politique des Comnènes. elle visait la légitimation du pouvoir, la soumission de l'aristocratie serbe et le remplacement de l'empereur byzantin par un empereur serbe. Gordana BABIĆ, *Les portraits des grands dignitaires du temps des tsars serbes. Hiérarchie et idéologie* (pp. 158-168), développe pratiquement la même idée : les serbes sont restés dans la tradition byzantine pour se présenter comme étant leurs successeurs. Ainsi à la cour serbe, on trouve des césars, des despotes et des sébastocrators, comme à la cour de Constantinople. G. SUBOTIĆ, *Η τέχνη των βυζαντινοσέρβων ευγενών στην Ελλάδα κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες του ΙΔ΄ αιώνα* (pp. 167-179), note que dans les régions balkaniques qui échappent aux Turcs, c'est-à-dire la Macédoine occidentale et l'Épire, les seigneurs Serbes imitaient les Byzantins : ils utilisaient le grec comme langue officielle et suivaient les courants artistiques constantinopolitains. D. Z. SOFIANOS, *Οἱ Σέρβοι ἡγεμόνες τῶν Τρικάλων καὶ οἱ μονὲς τῆς περιοχῆς (ΙΔ΄ αἰώνας)* (pp. 180-194), signale les conséquences désastreuses pour l'empire de la guerre entre Jean Cantacuzène et Jean V, qui a permis la domination serbe en Thessalie, jusqu'à 1423. Cette domination a laissé peu de traces dans le domaine de l'architecture religieuse. R. RADIĆ, *Ο Συμεών Ούρεσης Παλαιολόγος και το κράτος του μεταξύ της βυζαντινής και της σερβικής αυτοκρατορίας* (pp. 195-208), étudie les conditions dans lesquelles Syméon a pu après la mort de Dusan en 1355 établir un État indépendant, ayant Kastoria pour capitale. Syméon redonna à son État le caractère grec de jadis, sans toutefois couper le cordon ombilical avec l'empire serbe. O. LAMPSIDIS, *La mémoire de Constantin Déyanovitch dans une église de Trébizonde ?* (pp. 209-211), pense que l'église dédiée à S. Constantin par Eudocie, fille d'Alexis III de Trébizonde, est une fondation à la mémoire du prince serbe Constantin Déyanovitch. Florentia EVANGELATOU-NOTARA, *Greek Manuscript Copying Activity under Serbian Rule in the XIVth Century* (pp. 212-229), dit que c'était surtout dans les monastères d'Hodégon de Constantinople et de Prodrome à Serres que les copies des manuscrits ont été multipliées. Il s'agit d'une continuité sans interruption, puisque les Serbes étaient des orthodoxes. Chara CONSTANTINIDI, *Ἑλληνικὲς καὶ παλαιοσερβικὲς ἐπιγραφὲς πάνω στὰ εἰλητὰ τῶν συλλειτουργούντων ἱεραρχῶν κατὰ τὴν ὑστεροβυζαντινὴ ἐποχή* (pp. 230-247), souligne que les tissus liturgiques inspirés des originaux byzantins portent indistinctement des inscriptions en grec ou en vieux slave, ce qui montre une longue évolution en commun. S. TROÏANOS et S. ŠARKIĆ, *Ο κώδικας του Στέφανου Dusan και το Βυζαντινό Δίκαιο* (pp. 248-256), n'arrivent à trouver qu'une insignifiante influence du droit byzantin, au moins de celui des Macédoniens, sur le droit serbe. C. G. PITSAKIS, *Canonica Byzantino-Serbica minora, I. Le trisépiscopat : une «perversion» serbe ?* (pp. 267-281), explique que selon le droit canon orthodoxe, un évêque ne pouvait pas être transféré plus qu'une fois d'un siège à un autre. Or en Serbie la pratique des trois

déplacements est devenue monnaie courante jusqu'à nos jours. Lj. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Η ανάπτυξη κεντρόφυγων ροπών στις πολιτικές σχέσεις Βυζαντίου και Σερβίας τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα* (pp. 282-290), après avoir constaté la byzantinisation progressive du royaume serbe, depuis le traité de 1299 entre Byzantins et Serbes, il observe en Serbie des phénomènes déjà connus par l'histoire byzantine, c'est-à-dire le développement de forces centrifuges et la création d'États périphériques semi-indépendants. Chr. WALTER, *Portraits of Bishops Appointed by the Serbian Conquerors on Byzantine Territory* (pp. 291-298), fait une observation astucieuse : la présence des portraits des évêques donateurs de leur vivant sur les peintures. Selon la tradition orthodoxe une telle pratique n'était pas permise. De telles réalisations indiquent alors la période tendue de la proclamation d'un patriarche serbe, boudé par Constantinople. Dans la suite, quand la situation fut devenue normale, il n'y a plus de portraits d'évêques vivants. Triantafyllitsa MANIATI-KOKKINI, *Προνομιακές παραχωρήσεις του σέρβου αυτοκράτορα Στέφανου Dusan (1343-1355)* (pp. 299-329), après s'être penchée sur les documents écrits rapportant des donations faites avec l'accord du tsar Dusan, elle constate l'absence d'une unité nationale de son empire. Il a alors essayé d'imposer l'élément serbe comme nation dirigeante, mais en utilisant un modèle romanobyzantin. Il a échoué dans sa tentative. Les conclusions de L. MAVROMMATIS, *Sur les antagonismes en Macédoine sous la domination serbe* (pp. 330-337), vont dans le même sens, au moins telles sont les indications fournies par les archives du monastère de Prodrome à Serres. N. B. DRANDAKIS, *Χρονολόγηση βυζαντινῶν τοιχογραφιῶν τῆς νότιας Πελοποννήσου ἀπὸ συγκρίσεις μὲ χρονολογημένες βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες τῆς Σερβίας* (pp. 338-343), trouve que les églises en Laconie doivent être datées de la période post byzantine, car elles copient des peintures réalisés en Serbie. Cette idée est partagée par Mirjana MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Caractéristiques iconographiques de la peinture murale serbe et grecque du XIVe siècle. Les ménologes et les cycles hagiographiques* (pp. 344-350, qui trouve qu'il n'y a pas de distinction à faire sur le plan artistique dans le monde orthodoxe du XIVe s. Conclusion partagée par Maria PANAYOTIDI, *Les tendances de la peinture de Thessalonique en comparaison avec celles de Constantinople, comme expression de la situation politico-économique de ces villes pendant le XIVe siècle* (pp. 351-362), qui en outre observe un expressionnisme exagéré dans l'art constantinopolitain, exprimant une société en danger et angoissée par la progression turque. Par contre la peinture de Thessalonique adopte des formes classicissantes indiquant un courant culturel encore jeune. Sophia KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Aspects of Patronage in 14th Century Byzantium. Regions under Serbian and Latin Rule* (pp. 363-379), n'a pas de doute : si les Latins étaient toujours vus comme des étrangers, les Serbes, du fait d'être orthodoxes et byzantinisés, étaient perçus favorablement. Dusan était considéré comme empereur des Serbes et des Grecs.V. KORAĆ, *L'école de la Morava : dernière renaissance dans l'art du monde byzantin* (pp. 380-391), étudie l'art décoratif

développé par l'école de Morava qui le considère comme une sorte de classicisme byzantin. D'ailleurs, Marica ŠUPUT, *Ομοιότητες και διαφορές στη σερβική και ελληνική αρχιτεκτονική του ΙΔ΄ αιώνα* (pp. 392-400), fait les mêmes remarques pour l'architecture, en signalant que l'architecture serbe suit les modèles byzantins mais en donnant aux bâtiments de plus grandes dimensions, ce qui n'est pas le cas de l'architecture grecque. E. TSIGARIDAS, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου* (pp. 401-425), constate que l'église abbatiale de Vatopedi porte des peintures qui vont du Xe au XIXe s. Les fresques de l'époque paléologue se localisent surtout sur les murs du narthex et moins sur ceux de la nef. Elles indiquent un expressionnisme marqué qui est à mettre en relation avec la peinture serbe du XIVe s.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Hélène CONDYLIS - BASSOUKOS, *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès, traduction grecque (XIe siècle) du livre Kal⊣la wa-Dimna d'Ibn al-Muqaffaæ (VIIIe siècle). Étude lexicologique et littéraire*, (*Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, Fonds René Draguet*, XI), Leuven, Peeters, 1997, XXXI + 239 pages. ISBN 90-6831-765-2.

En choisissant d'éditer la thèse de doctorat (Philosophie et Lettres, UCL, 1989) d'Hélène Condylis, l'Académie royale de Belgique offre l'occasion de découvrir un bel exemple de rencontre réussie entre deux univers linguistiques et culturels. Le *Pantchatantra*, sorte de «Miroir des Princes» indien, écrit en sanskrit (IIIe siècle), traduit d'abord en pehlevi et en syriaque, devient célèbre grâce à la version arabe enrichie du texte pehlevi — aujourd'hui perdu —, réalisée par Ibn al-Muqaffaæ. Cet iranien arabisé créa ainsi une œuvre nouvelle, considérée comme la première et l'une des plus grandes de la prose littéraire arabo-musulmane. Le *Kit<b Kal⊣la wa-Dimna* va dès lors se répandre en imitations, traductions et adaptations multiples. Le monde byzantin la découvre au XIe siècle, lorsqu'Alexis Comnène en commande une traduction à Syméon Seth, médecin érudit d'Antioche ; à partir de ce *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès* (traduction approximative des noms arabes *Kal⊣la* et *Dimna*), le *Pantchatantra* pénètre en Occident (versions latines, espagnoles, italiennes...). Dans la première partie de son étude, l'auteur procède à un examen méticuleux des deux versions et précise la méthode du traducteur, évalue ses connaissances linguistiques et étudie le lexique de l'œuvre. La seconde partie démontre à quel point le *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès* appartient au patrimoine littéraire et culturel byzantin. Plus qu'une traduction, plus qu'une œuvre populaire (comme on l'avait toujours considéré), ce texte riche en citations littéraires grecques (Hésiode, Homère, Platon, Grégoire de Nazianze...), réussit à concilier dans le travail du traducteur, la fidélité aux sources et l'originalité d'une œuvre autonome.

Laurence TUERLINCKX.

Erytheia. Revista de Estudios bizantinos y Neogriegos, 17 (1996), 364 pages. ISSN 0213-1996.

Seule la partie byzantine de cette revue fait partie de notre recensement. Dans un court article, G. FERNÁNDEZ HERNÁNDEZ, *El impacto del Sínodo Alejandrino de ca. 320 en el Didaskaleion de Alejandria* (pp. 7-9), pense que la condamnation d'Arius par le synode en question a porté un coup à l'école de l'Alexandrie et à sa théologie. P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA, *Notas sobre la frontera linguistica greco-latina en los Balcanes* (pp. 11-20), en tenant compte des tous les paramètres historiques, pense qu'il est aberrant de parler de frontières linguistiques dans les Balkans du type de "ligne Jirecek" surtout après la haute époque et l'apparition de nouveaux peuples dans la région. Mercedes LÓPEZ SALVÁ, *Afecciones orquiticas y curaciones oniricas en el templo del Precursor de Oxeia : Contribucion a la historia de la Medicina* (pp. 21-40), prend pour source principale les Miracles de S. Artémius pour étudier les cas de guérisons miraculeuses rapportés par ce texte. D'après les symptômes, l'A. devine le type de maladie dont soufraient les patients et cherche dans le texte les méthodes thérapeutiques des Byzantins ainsi que leur pharmacologie. La recherche s'oriente toutefois beaucoup plus vers l'action thaumaturge et la manière dont elle se manifeste. D. AFINOGENOV, *Κωνσταντινούπολις ἐπίσκοπον ἔχει*. Part II. *From the Second Outbreak of Iconoclasme to the Death of Methodios* (pp. 43-71), continue une recherche, dont la première partie a paru dans le vol. de 1995, et qui a pour objet l'histoire des patriarches de Constantinople, les circonstances de leurs élection, leur relations avec le pouvoir et tout spécialement avec l'empereur. Comme le titre l'indique, cette seconde partie voit la période qui va du règne de Michel Ier jusqu'à la fin de l'épiscopat de Méthode en 847. Très intéressante étude, dont nous attendons la suite. Non moins itéressant le long article d'A. KAZHDAN, *Observaciones preliminares sobre la concepcion del mundo del mistico bizantino de los siglos X-XI Simeon (Con dos Apéndices)* (pp. 73-139), exploite essentiellement la Vie de S. Syméon le Nouveau Théologien ainsi que ses écrits théologiques et sa production poétique. L'A. retrace la biographie de Syméon, son milieu social, sa formation et son engagement dans les ordres monastiques. Ensuite, il aborde ses idées sociales ; Syméon est caractérisé par un individualisme assorti d'une vision mystique du monde qui s'oppose à toute forme d'engagement, voire même d'occupation dans ce monde-ci. M. ÁNGEL ELVIRA, *Cuatro iconografias clasicas en marfiles deuterobizantinos* (pp. 141-157), étudie la réception par les artistes byzantins de quatre scènes classiques, à savoir celle du sacrifice d'Iphigénie, celle d'Hercule et les chevaux de Diomède, celle de Bellérophont et de Pégase à la source Pirène et celle de l'enlèvement d'Europe. Il constate un appauvrissement dû sans doute à la disparition du message véhiculé jadis par ces représentations. Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN, *Apuntes sobre la historia del texto bizantino de la Historia*

edificante de Barlaam y Josafat (pp. 159-177), étudie la transmission du texte de l'*Histoire édifiante* de Barlaam et Josaphat afin de découvrir l'origine d'une version courte transmise par deux manuscrits. L. MAVROMATIS, *La idea monárquica en la Serbia medieval* (pp. 179-188), pense que le *Kralj* serbe avait pour modèle l'empereur de Byzance. Le clergé serbe y a contribué à sa manière en lui conférant le titre d'élu de Dieu. L'article de J. M. FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, *Anecdota Vaticana Quaedam ad Historiam Graecam saec. XVI-XVII illustrandam* (pp. 189-226) est très intéressant car il met à la disposition des chercheurs de nouvelles sources, mais elles sont toutes rédigées après la fin de l'empire. Les mêmes remarques sont valables pour la correspondance du patriarche d'Alexandrie, Métrophane, du XVIIe s. qui fait l'objet de l'article de L. GIL, *Carta de Metrofanes, metropolita de Alejandria, al cardenal Antonio Barberini* (pp. 227-234). Les pages qui suivent concernnent le monde néogrec.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Fortunatae. Revista Canaria de Fillogía, Cultura y Humanidades Clásicas, 6 (1994), 384 pages. ISSN 1131-6810.

Dans ce volume, l'article de Maria Consolacion ISART, *Ulises en el mundo cristiano del s. II*, pp. 25-41, signale que Clément d'Alexandrie est le premier auteur qui a essayé de concilier l'esprit chrétien et l'esprit grec classique. Dans cette tentative, il utilise l'image d'Ulysse en tant qu'allégorie chrétienne, symbole du retour de l'homme au royaume de Dieu après ses péripéties sur la terre.

Idem, 7 (1995), 412 pages.

G. CARRASCO SERRANO, *El retrato amianeo del emperador Joviano*, pp. 177-185, note qu'Ammien Marcellin dans ses *Res gestae* donne une description du physique de l'empereur Jovien. Cette auteur étant mal disposé à l'égard de Jovien, il a transmis à la postérité une image relativement défavorable de cet empereur.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

I. FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana*, VI, (*Università di Padova, Studi sull'Arte Paleocristiana e Bizantina*), Padova, Università di Padova, 1997, 85 pages + 32 planches hors texte.

Les *Cynegetica* sont un texte d'origine peu claire ; sa rédaction semble remonter au IIIe s. de notre ère. Transcrit en minuscule, le texte prit sa forme définitive vers l'an 1000. A ce moment, le goût pour l'antiquité profane a dominé dans la production artistique byzantine ; ce goût avait aussi contaminé la production manuscrite. C'est donc à ce moment qu'a eu lieu une nouvelle copie de *Cynegetica* à partir d'un archétype qui selon Weitzmann était du

IIIe s., tandis que Spatharakis pense à un manuscrit du IVe s. Comparées au reste de la production manuscrite byzantine, les illustrations de ce manuscrit ne laissent pour l'auteur aucun doute : elles sont des produits typiques du XIe s. d'un atelier constantinopolitain.

La seconde partie du livre est une traduction italienne des livres III et IV des *Cynegetica* due à F. M. Pontani.

La reproduction en noir et blanc de toutes les enluminures parachève ce petit volume intéressant.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Géométrie du fisc byzantin, éd., traduction, commentaire par J. LEFORT, R. BONDOUX, J.-Cl. CHEYNET, J.-P. GRELOIS, Vassiliki KRAVARI, avec la collaboration de J.-M. MARTIN (*Réalités byzantines*, 4), Paris, Lethielleux, 1991, 295 pages + 8 planches hors texte. ISBN 2-283-60454-6.

L'ouvrage présente les fruits d'une recherche menée, de 1981 à 1983, au séminaire de Jacques Lefort à l'E.P.H.E. sur les manuels de géométrie fiscale, dans le but de déterminer la fonction que pouvaient avoir dans l'empire byzantin ces textes, qui ont pour objet principal de déterminer la contenance des parcelles de formes diverses pour établir le montant de l'impôt. «Ces traités nous renseignent de la façon la plus concrète sur les pratiques culturelles et sur le savoir faire des géomètres du fisc lorsqu'ils avaient à mesurer les terres. Or, si les techniques utilisées remontent à l'Antiquité, les géométries du fisc byzantin sont les plus anciens textes conservés qui les décrivent avec précision» (p. 5). L'introduction décrit d'abord les pratiques géométriques du fisc avant Byzance ; les compare ensuite avec d'autres pratiques du moyen âge, pour montrer que l'usage byzantin est plus proche des pratiques arabes que de celles de l'occident ou des pays slaves ; il démontre enfin que la géométrie fiscale n'est pas une version dégradée des oeuvres de Héron d'Alexandrie. Les textes sont édités, munis d'un apparat, et traduits en français ; la présentation des textes est suivie d'un commentaire détaillé et d'un index.

B. COULIE.

Grégoire de Nazianze, Le Dit de sa vie. Traduit, présenté et annoté par Alessandra LUKINOVICH, mis en vers libres par Claude MARTINGAY. Introduction par T. SPIDLIK, s.l. (Genève), Ad Solem, s.d. (1997). 170 × 135 mm.

Le *Dit de sa vie* est la traduction d'un poème de 1949 vers iambiques de Grégoire de Nazianze, le Εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον (*Carmen* II, 1, 11 : *De vita sua, Patrol. grecque*, 37, col. 1029-1166). Mme Lukinovich, professeur de grec classique à l'université de Genève, publie avec quelques arrangements et sans l'apparat critique, le texte édité par Ch. Jungck (Heidelberg, 1974). La traduction de C. Martingay allie élégance et fidélité ; elle aurait encore

plus de charme si la version française se trouvait toujours vis-à-vis des vers grecs auxquels elle correspond. L'introduction du Prof. Spidlik expose les perspectives poétiques, spirituelles et religieuses de cette publication «soucieuse d'ouvrir le champ de la littérature patristique au plus large public possible».

J. MOSSAY.

Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik, 45 (1995), 443 pages + 46 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-7001-2214-4.

Dans ce numéro, J. H. BARKHUIZEN, *Romanos Melodos : On Earthquakes and Fires* (pp. 1-18), analyse le Kontakion n° 54 de Romain le Mélode, qui, d'après l'auteur, parle des événements des années 530-532. P. VAN DEUN, *Les Diversa Capita du Pseudo-Maxime (CPG 7715) et la chaîne de Nicétas d'Héraclée sur l'Evangile de Matthieu (CPG C 133)* (p. 19-24), pense que selon les indices internes et externes, les *Diversa Capita du Pseudo-Maxime* sont composés entre le 6 juillet 1105 et le 11 juin 1116. E. KISLINGER, *Byzantinische Kupfermünzen aus Sizilien (7.-9. Jh.)* (pp. 25-36), étudie le monnayage en bronze, extrêmement riche, des ateliers siciliens, jusqu'à sa disparition à l'époque de Théophile. P. SPECK, *Das letzte Jahr des Artabasdos* (pp. 37-52), revoit les événements des années 741-42, mis en doute à cause de la chronologie proposée jadis par Ostrogorsky et soutenue par Treadgold. Foteini KOLOVOU, *Euthymios Tornikes als Briefschreiber* (pp. 53-74), édite une lettre qu'Euthyme Tornikès adressa à Michel Choniatès. La lettre date du début du XIIe s. et elle donne l'occasion à l'A. de faire des recherches prosopographiques. O. LAMPSIDIS, *Ein unbekanntes vocabulum marginale* (pp. 75-78) parle de notes marginales d'un manuscrit du XIIe s. de la Bibl. Nationale d'Athènes (n° 1217) contenant l'œuvre de Constantin Manassès. Irmgard HUTTER, *Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons* (pp. 79-114), fait une étude codicologique et historique du Typikon du monomètre de la Ste-Vierge dit «L'espoir certain» de Constantinople. Le premier résultat obtenu est la mise en ordre des feuillets du manuscrit. Ensuite, le document est daté ; il semble être rédigé entre 1309 et 1402 F. TINNEFELD, *«Es wäre gut für jenen Menschen, wenn er nicht geboren wäre». Eine Disputation am Hof Kaiser Manuels II. über ein Jesuswort vom Verräter Judas* (pp. 115-158), opère une édition critique de tout un dossier de discussions théologiques sur la prédestination humaine et cela à propos de Judas qui selon les uns était prédestiné à trahir Jésus, ce qui n'est pas l'opinion des autres. H. HUNGER, *Aus den letzten Lebensjahren des Johannes Chortasmenos. Das Synaxarion im Cod. Christ Church gr. 56 und der Metropolit Ignatios von Selybria* (pp. 159-218), édite des versifications que Jean Chortasmenos, futur évêque de Sylébrie, consacre aux saints d'un Synaxaire contenu dans le manuscrit de Christ Church gr 56. P. SCHREINER, *Zum Tod des Johannes Chortasmenos* (pp. 219-222) discute la question de la mort de Jean Chortasmenos en partant des

données fournies par les manuscrits autographes de ce personnage H. WURM, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der 'Αποδείξεις ἱστοριῶν des Laonikos Chalkokondyles* (pp. 223-232), étudie la tradition manuscrite de Chalcocondyle et essaye d'établir un stemma fondé sur les nouvelles données paléographiques qu'il dégage. H. BUCHWALD, *Chancel Barrier Lintels Decorated with Carved Arcades* (pp. 233-276), s'intéresse au motif décoratif des arcades surmontant une sculpture. Il s'agit d'un thème attesté surtout dans les régions grecques et en particulier dans le Péloponnèse et dans une moindre mesure dans l'Asie Mineure occidentale. Les quelques 72 cas étudiés datent d'entre 873 et 1245. Zaza SKHIRTLADZE, *Silver Medallion from Gareji* (pp. 277-282), pense que l'objet de son étude est d'origine syropalestinienne et doit être du XIe s. Jadranka PROLOVIC, *Die Miniaturen des sogenannten Dovolja-Tetraevangeliars (Belgrad, NBS, Rs. 638)* (pp. 283-306) : les miniatures de l'évangéliaire du monastère de Dovolja, sont du XIVe s. et font partie de la tradition byzantinisante de l'art slave. Finalement, P. HETHERINGTON, *Pythion : A Thracian Frourion of John VI Kantakouzenos* (pp. 307-312), fait une étude archéologique, mais aussi historique de la forteresse byzantine de Empythion (actuel Pythion en Grèce), le plus important château-fort en Thrace pendant tout le XIVe s.

Idem, 46 (1996), XI + 501 pages + 15 plaches hors texte. ISBN 3-7001-2590-9.

Ce volume commence par l'article de Dimitra KARAMBOULA, *Soma Basileias. Zur Staatsidee im spätantiken Byzanz* (pp. 1-24) qui a pour objet la fonction impériale. Dans ce but, l'A. fait appel aux textes législatifs mais aussi aux manuels administratifs tels que ceux de Jean Lydus, de Thémistius, de Synesius ou de Pierre le Patrice. L'empereur n'était pas seulement le chef de l'État, mais aussi le chef moral du christianisme, le chef de l'armée mais aussi la source du droit, celui qui promulguait les lois et au nom duquel était exercée la justice. M. HISTERBERGER, *Probleme der Texterstellung der Apophtegmata Patrum* (pp. 25-44), pense que les *Apophtegmata* peuvent aider la recherche qui vise l'origine du monachisme oriental et les sources de son histoire. Puis, il suit la tradition du texte des *Apophtegmata* en essayant de localiser les différentes élaborations du matériel primitif. M. KERTSCH, *Weitere Chrysostomos-Reminiszenzen dei Isidor von Pelusion* (pp. 45-62), prouve qu'il y a un parallélisme entre les deux auteurs en titre surtout en ce qui concerne leur idées néoplatoniciennes et leurs sources patristiques. H. G. THÜMMEL, *Stephanos von Bostra und die Florilegien-Tradition* (pp. 63-80), fait essentiellement une étude de la tradition manuscrite du *«Contra Judaeos»* d'Étienne de Bostres qui aboutit à l'établissement d'un stemma. L'étude de K. BELKE, *Einige Überlegungen zum Sigillion Kaiser Nikephoros' I. für Patrai* (pp. 81-96), est un état de la question d'un sujet qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre :

l'Édit de Nicéphore Ier concernant l'évêché de Patras dans le Péloponnèse, sa relation avec la Chronique dite de Monemvasie. Tatiana MATANTSEVA, *Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a)* (pp. 97-156), entreprend une édition critique du texte qui figure dans le titre, dont la rédaction doit être placée après le VIIe Concile oecuménique et avant le Xe s. et dont le rédacteur est un certain Michel inconnu d'autres sources. F. BIANCO, *Note su due monete d'oro rinvenute a San Marco d'Alunzio* (pp. 157-162) fait une note au sujet d'un solidus de Basile Ier et un quart du dinar frappé à Palerme, entre 1036 et 1094. Les monnaies ont été trouvées près de Messine en Sicile. L' étude de Ch. THEODORIDIS, *Verse byzantinischer Dichter in grammatischen Schriften und byzantinischen Lexika sowie Scholien-Sammlungen* (pp. 163-174), a pour objet de comparer les textes poétiques connus avec la version dont ces textes sont repris par les dictionnaires ou les livres de grammaire byzantins. M. GRÜNBART, *Prosopographische Beiträge zum Briefcorpus des Ioannes Tzetzes* (pp. 175-226), la correspondance de J. Tzetzès comporte 107 lettres rédigées entre 1138 et 1155. Elles transmettent un bon nombre de noms de personnages de l'époque. L'A. a trouvé les citations dans d'autres sources qui éclairent le rôle de chacune des ces personnes. P. SCHREINER, *Ritterspiele in Byzanz* (pp. 227-242), édite un texte relativement court qui décrit à la fois l'armure impériale de parade et la pratique du duel entre les chevaliers. Il semble que ce texte remonte à l'époque de Manuel Ier. Marina LOUKAKI, *Ein unbekanntes Gebet von Georgios Zagarommates an Johannes Prodromos* (pp. 243-250), essaye de trouver des informations au sujet d'un certain Georges Zagarommatès mentionné dans un poème de Jean Prodrome. Cette personne a très probablement vécu à l'époque de Michel VIII ou d'Andronic II. I. POLEMIS, *An unpublished anti-Latin Treatise of Manuel Moschopoulos* (pp. 251-264), note que Manuel Moschopoulos était une personne influente du XIIIe s. Il s'était illustré par ses idées anti-romaines très tranchées. L'A. publie un traité inédit de cet écrivain, texte tansmis par plusieurs manuscrits du XIVe et du XVe s. I. VASSIS, *Ein alter Zeuge von zwei Briefen des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopulos* (pp. 265-274), édite l'original et la copie d'une lettre fictive de jeunesse du célèbre philologue et historien du XIV s. Calliste Xanthopoulos ; la lettre, rédigée par Calliste était censée être écrite par son maître Ignace. R. FLOGAUS, *Der heimliche Blick nach Westen. Zur Rezeption von Augustins De trinitate durch Gregorios Palamas* (pp. 275-298), signale que Grégoire Palamas a traduit le *De trinitate* de S. Augustin afin de défendre la théologie orthodoxe menacée par les Barlaamistes. L'A. analyse les difficultés de passage d'une langue à l'autre ainsi que les adaptations faites par Palamas pour faire face à des réalités de son temps. Comme l'explique Sofia KOTZABASSI, *Eine Akoluthie zu Ehren des Philotheos Kokkinos* (pp. 299-310), le patriarche de Constantinople Philothée Kokkinos (1353-1354 et 1364-1376) s'était illustré dans la lutte contre les Barlaamistes.

Cela lui a valu une reconnaissance au même titre qu'un confesseur de la foi. L'A.. publie une *Acolouthie* rédigée en son honneur peu après sa mort. Ch. Baloglou, *Die Einteilung des Volkes in drei Stände bei Georgios Gemistos Plethon im Vergleich zu Hippodamos von Milet und den Physiokraten* (pp. 311-324), débat une fois encore des relations entre l'État idéal projeté par le philosophe de la période des Paléologues, Georges Pléthon, et la philosophie classique, notamment platonicienne. Evelina Mineva, *Ein unedierter Kanon des Markos Eugenikos über die Heilung Johannes' VIII. Palaiologos* (pp. 325-338), édite aussi un texte inédit : un poème que l'empereur Jean VIII a composé après son rétablissement d'une paralysie des pieds, fait qu'il a attribué à une action miraculeuse. C. S. Lightfoot, *Doukas and Amorium : A Note* (pp. 339-342), envisage l'hypothèse des travaux effectués par les chrétiens dans la ville d'Amorion après le passage de cette ville sous le contrôle turc en 1071. L'article de G. de Gregorio, *Un intervento patriarcale del 1574 contro la idiorritmia : I documenti di Hieremias II Tranos* (pp. 343-378), comme d'ailleurs celui d'Anna Pontani, *Croci lignee d'altare postbizantine conservate in Italia e in Austria* (pp. 379-422) traitent des sujets post-byzantins qui n'entrent pas dans notre propos. L'article de Thalia Mantopoulou-Panagiotopoulou, *On the Identification of the Church of Nea (Megali) Panagia in Thessaloniki* (pp. 423-436), concerne une période encore plus tardive, mais il est intéressant car il fait appel aux témoignages qui remontent au XIe s. pour identifier l'église qui au XVIIIe s. était connue sous le nom de Néa Panagia. La note de Rossica Panova, *The Capital City in the Medieval Bulgarian Culture* (pp. 437-440), analyse la notion de la capitale chez les Bulgares.

P. Yannopoulos.

D. Kalamakis, *Ἀνθολόγιον ἐκ τῶν ἔργων Αὐγουστίνου Ἱππῶνος ἐξελληνισθὲν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Κυδώνη*, Athènes, *Παρνασσός* 1996, 158 pages. ISBN 960-85212-4-6.

La théologie latine est restée pratiquement inconnue dans l'empire byzantin. Planude est le premier à avoir traduit du latin en grec certains traités théologiques. Les frères Prochoros et Démétrios Cydonès durant le XIVe s. ont fait mieux connaître la théologie occidentale en Orient. Démétrios Cydonès (c. 1324-1397/8), originaire de Thessalonique, sous le règne de Jean VI, est devenu fonctionnaire à Constantinople. Dans la capitale il fit connaissance de moines occidentaux et s'initia à la théologie occidentale ; il était surtout fasciné par la théologie scolastique de Thomas d'Aquin. Son admiration pour la théologie catholique est sans doute à la base de sa conversion au catholicisme.

Démétrios Cydonès a décidé de traduire en grec un florilège de S. Augustin formé en Occident à partir de ses «sententiae». L'A. de ce livre, après avoir

fait une étude des procédés utilisés pour la traduction, étudie la transmission du texte grec et sa tradition manuscrite. L'édition critique du texte est le fruit de cette étude.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Angeliki KONSTANTAKOPOULOU, *Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη. Χώρος και ιδεολογία, (Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής. Δωδώνη*, Παράρτημα, 62), Yannena, 1996, 276 pages.

Un livre de lecture difficile et qui sort du commun. Car, malgré son titre, il ne s'agit pas d'une étude archéologique ou historique de la ville de Thessalonique, au sens courant des ces termes. L'A., qui se déclare partisane de la «Nouvelle Histoire» voit «le temps comme une dimension multiple et plurisémantique» ; de ce fait elle donne à son ouvrage un caractère parfois métaphysique, tandis que son argumentation n'est pas toujours convaincante. Elle pense que les termes qu'utilisent les sources en parlant de Thessalonique, ne sont ni des locutions, ni des métaphores, ni encore moins des tournures oratoires ; ils cachent une signification philosophique qui illustre à la fois la mentalité de l'époque, l'idéologie des écrivains et leur relation avec la ville de Thessalonique. Ainsi, cette terminologie change suivant le changement des mentalités et des orientations idéologiques. Dans cette pespective, Thessalonique est vue d'abord comme «la ville protégée par Dieu», notion qui exprime l'esprit théocratique de la dernière phase de l'empire romain ainsi que celui de l'empire byzantin. Ensuite Thessalonique est envisagée comme ville natale et finalement comme «cité» au sens antique du terme.

Un livre qui sans doute posera plus de questions qu'il n'en résoud, mais qui n'est pas sans originalité.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

P. MAGDALINO, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (= *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Collège de France. Monographies*, 9), Paris, De Boccard, 1996, 119 pages, avec 2 cartes. ISBN 2-7018-0098-6.

Étude topographique et historique de Constantinople avant sa prise par les Croisés en 1204. L'A.. distingue une succession de phases de la construction de la ville. Jusqu'au VIe s., la ville a connu un développement régulier. Les grands travaux de Justinien Ier ont accéléré l'évolution urbaine de la capitale qui est ainsi devenue une grande ville. Peu de constructions privées de cette phase ont été conservées. Par contre l'infrastructure urbaine et certains bâtiments publics n'ont pas disparu. Pendant les «temps obscurs» une ruralisation de la capitale lui a donné un aspect moins urbain. Les empereurs Macédoniens ont repris la campagne de la ré-urbanisation. mais c'est Romain

Ier Lécapène qui a de nouveau donné à la capitale de l'empire son aspect de grande ville. La splendeur de Constantinople est toutefois l'œuvre des Comnènes. Durant cette dernière phase, une certaine décentralisation des services de l'État est au départ de la création de nouveaux noyaux administratifs dans les quartiers de la ville. Ces noyaux vont contribuer largement à l'apparition d'autres centres urbains loin du Palais.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Sanja MESANOVIC, *John VII Palaiologos* (en serbe) (*Institute for Byzantine Studies. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Studies* 20), Belgrade, 1996, 155 pages. ISSN 0584-9888.

Un large résumé en anglais donne une idée assez précise du contenu de cette thèse de doctorat rédigée en serbe, langue moins accessible. Il s'agit d'une étude purement historique qui suit les événements de la fin du XIIIe et du début du XIVe s. Cette période est marquée d'un côté par les luttes dynastiques et fratricides qui ont affaibli la puissance byzantine et, d'autre part, par l'expansionnisme serbe et par l'accentuation de la poussée turque. L'A. essaye de voir clair dans les situations et de distinguer les jeux d'influence qui se dissimulent derrière la façade des témoignages textuels.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

ORTODOKSIA / ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΙΑ, 1996, ISSN 1106-4889.

Deux articles de ce volume concernent les études byzantines. Celui du métropolite Tyroloès et Serentiou PANTELEÏMON, *Τὸ αὐτοκέφαλον εἰς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ὁ τρόπος ἀνακηρύξεως του. Ἡ ὀρθόδοξος ἐκκλησία εἰς τὸ Μαυροβούνιον*, pp. 209-215, qui, partant de la question de l'église de Monte Negro, examine les décisions prises par les synodes oecuméniques durant la période byzantine. Un intérêt philologique présente l'étude de M. SAKKOULIDOU, *Τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου Ἀποστόλου Βαρθολομαίου κοσμητικὰ ἐπίθετα*, pp. 217-222, qui après une recherche dans les textes liturgiques et hymnologiques, dresse une liste des adjectifs utilisés par les poètes byzantins pour honorer S. Barthélomy.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

C. PASINI, *Codici e frammenti greci dell'Ambrosiana. Integrazioni al catalogo di E. Martini e D. Bassi*, Roma, Dipartimento di filologia greca e latina. Sezione bizantino-neoellenica. Università «La Sapienza», 1997 (*Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici*, 9). 291 pages et 45 fac-similés, 240 × 160 mm.

L'Ambrosiana a rouvert ses portes en octobre 1997, après sept années de fermeture consacrées notamment à informatiser la bibliothèque et la salle de consultation et de lecture des manuscrits. Au même moment, Mgr Pasini

a fait paraître ce complément au catalogue de Martini et Bassi (OLIVIER n° 1694 ou RICHARD n° 601) ; il y réédite quatre suppléments déjà publiés dans la *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, de 1989 à 1992 (OLIVIER n° 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698) qu'il complète par le catalogue des fragments grecs contenus dans deux recueils, l'*Ambros. D.* 137 suss. (p. 81-181) et l'*Ambros. S.P.* 6/14 (p. 183-245). La majorité des nouveaux fragments repérés sont des textes byzantins ou patristiques ; mais, quelques-uns sont d'époques plus anciennes ou plus récentes. Le texte inférieur de l'un ou l'autre fragment palimpseste n'a pas pu être identifié.

J. MOSSAY.

V. RUGGIERI, *Guillaume de Jerphanion et la Turquie de jadis*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1997, 261 pages, avec 245 illustrations en noir et blanc et 10 planches en couleurs

G. de Jerphanion (3 mars 1877-22 octobre 1948), visita la Turquie plusieurs fois entre 1903 et 1927. Ses voyages avaient des buts divers. Lui-même, un observateur incomparable, ne manquait jamais de noter tout ce qui le frappait et de photographier, à une époque où la photographie faisait ses premiers pas, tout ce qu'il jugeait digne d'être emporté avec lui. Ce matériel lui servait pour la rédaction de ses nombreuses publications. Le volume de V. Ruggieri met à la disposition des chercheurs une partie du matériel illustré de ce grand voyageur sur lequel il y a encore moyen de travailler, vu les destructions que les antiquités byzantines ont connues après les voyages de G. de Jerphanion. Les notes biographiques et les notes introductives aident le lecteur de s'orienter dans ce matériel.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

L. RYDÉN, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool.* Vol. I : *Introduction, Testimonies and Nachleben. Indices* (= *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 4.1), Uppsala, 1995, 304 pages ; ISBN 91-554-3652-8 ; vol. II : *Text, Translation and Notes. Appendices* (= *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 4.2), Uppsala, 1995, 437 pages ; ISBN 91-554-3653-6 ; les deux vol. : ISBN 91-554-3651-X ; ISSN 0283-1244.

S. André le Fol a vécu à l'époque de l'empereur Léon Ier (457-474) et en outre il était ami du patriarche de Constantinople Épiphane (520-535) ; il s'agit des seuls repères chronologiques. Sa biographie est rédigée par un certain Nicéphore qui aurait pu avoir vécu entre 650 et 1000. Malgré une analyse très poussée, l'A. n'arrive pas à réduire cet écart chronologique. Le but final de cette étude c'est l'édition du texte. Une analyse de la tradition manuscrite permet l'établissement de quatre familles de manuscrits qui présentent des différences non seulement au niveau des leçons, mais aussi au niveau de la

répartition du texte en chapitres, dont l'ordre n'est pas toujours le même. Un seul témoin, malheureusement amputé, en écriture onciale semble être très proche de l'original. En partant notamment de ce fragment, l'A. fait une étude du style et de la langue de Nicéphore, pour pouvoir ensuite proposer des rectifications. La Vie de S. André a connu une large diffusion, puisque plus que 100 manuscrits en contiennent des fragments, sans compter les paraphrases et les traductions en géorgien en 1040, en russe en 1563, en italien au XVIe s., en latin et en anglais durant les temps modernes. S. André lui-même a connu une notoriété dans l'art byzantin et russe. Le second volume est consacré à l'édition du texte de la Vie, à la traduction anglaise et aux nombreux commentaires. En appendice, sont publiés les épisodes transmis seulement par les manuscrits d'une seule famille.

Une étude que rend utile un texte hagiographique qui jusqu'à présent n'était pas édité de manière critique. En outre, l'introduction répond à de nombreuses questions relatives à l'auteur de cette Vie et à la transmission du texte.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. G. SAVVIDIS, *Οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιο. Α΄ Προ-οθωμανικὰ φύλα στὴν Ἀσία καὶ στὰ Βαλκάνια*, Athènes, Δόμος, 1996, 254 pages. ISBN 960-353-015-8.

Étude assortie d'une bibliographie abondante au sujet des peuples turcs qui, entre le IVe et le XVe s., sont entrés en contact avec l'empire byzantin. Il s'agit d'Oghuzes, de Petchénègues, d'Uzes, de Coumans, de Karakhans, de Kara-Quitaïs, de Seldjoucides, de Zengs, de Djanismans et d'Arkoucs, peuples qui ont vécu dans les Balkans, au Nord de la Mer Noire ou dans les régions asiatiques limitrophes de l'empire byzantin. En outre, sont considérés les peuples turcs nomades que les Byzantins appelaient généralement Turcomans, ainsi que les mercenaires Turcs engagés dans l'armée byzantine et christianisés. L'étude n'envisage pas les Ottomans, à qui l'A. promet de consacrer un autre volume. Elle n'envisage pas non plus les peuples d'origine touranienne, apparentés aux Turcs, tels que les Avars, les Bulgares, les Magyars et les Khazars.

Chacun de ces peuples est étudié depuis son apparition sur la scène historique jusqu'à sa disparition, due presque toujours à une défaite militaire lors d'une guerre contre une autre nation turque. Il a en outre le moyen de suivre le rétrécissement territorial de l'empire à cause de la progression, lente au départ rapide ensuite, des nations turques vers l'Europe qui aboutira à la disparition de l'empire.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

M. SICHERL, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius. Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund*, Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich,

Ferdinand Schöningh, 1997 (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. Neue Folge. 1. Reihe : *Monographien*, 10). XXII + 386 pages et 8 planches, 225 × 155 mm.

Le Prof. Sicherl a découvert 36 manuscrits byzantins utilisés par Alde Manuce et ses collaborateurs : une vingtaine d'entre eux ont servi à corriger des textes publiés et quinze sont les modèles-mêmes recopiés par les premières éditions aldines et conservés après publication de celles-ci (cod. *Harvardiensis Houstonianus Gr.* 17, *Florent. Riccardianus Gr.* 29 = K.II.9, *Parisin. Gr.* 1395, 1848, 2921, 2924, 2939, 2960, *Parisin. Supplem. Gr.* 212, 393, 924, *Vatican. Gr.* 1379, *Reginensis Gr.* 173, *Selestiensis* 347, *Marcianus Gr.* 622). Désormais ces découvertes interdisent d'affirmer que la valeur des premières éditions aldines tient au fait qu'elles remplacent leurs modèles manuscrits disparus. L'A. a publié de 1975 à 1992 plusieurs études remarquées sur les premières éditions aldines de Musée, d'Aristote et des textes annexes, d'Aristophane, des collections d'Épistoliers, d'Euripide, des Rhéteurs grecs. Ces travaux sont ici mis à jour et complétés par de nouvelles recherches sur les Épistoliers grecs et sur huit éditions aldines postérieures à la mort d'Alde Manuce (1515), notamment celles des *Scolies de Démosthène* et des *Quatrains* (*Tétrasticha*) d'Ignace le Diacre, qui intéressent spécialement des byzantinistes. Chaque chapitre s'appuie sur les modèles manuscrits découverts par l'Auteur. Pour chaque texte sorti des ateliers de l'imprimeur-éditeur de Venise, les indices d'apparentements des textes publiés avec les manuscrits utilisés comme modèles sont ensuite précisés par des analyses philologiques rigoureuses, fondées sur les critères internes c'est-à-dire sur tous les accidents textuels tels que variantes et fautes communes ou particulières. Les conclusions sont confirmées par les critères externes, acolouthies du contenu des manuscrits, notes de correction ou de composition relevées dans les marges ou dans les textes, empreintes digitales au noir d'imprimerie maculant les feuillets. Les techniques d'imprimerie et le traitement matériel des modèles manuscrits avant, pendant et après leur utilisation par les imprimeurs tiennent peu de place dans cet ouvrage ; mais, les textes publiés, la genèse et la réalisation des éditions ainsi que les études qui leur ont été consacrées depuis un demi siècle y sont présentées avec une étonnante précision. L'ensemble éclaire des rapprochements chronologiques, topographiques et sociaux entre copistes, collectionneurs, humanistes et autres collaborateurs impliqués dans la production des manuscrits byzantins ou des premières éditions imprimées. Ainsi à l'arrière-plan des activités philologiques d'Alde Manuce, se précise l'histoire d'une Europe lettrée qui fait la soudure entre le monde byzantin et les temps modernes.

Les jeunes spécialistes de l'histoire et de la critique des textes trouveront dans cet ouvrage une porte ouverte sur de nouvelles recherches à entreprendre. L'A. exprime ce souhait (p. 10) et, tandis que la dernière ligne de son livre évoque la bibliothèque familiale de Francesco d'Asola (p. 365), on annonce

l'étude d'Annaclara CATALDI PALAU, *Gian Francesco d'Asola e la tipografia aldina. La vita, le edizioni, la biblioteca dell'Asolano*, Gênes, Sagep, 1998. 816 pages et 83 planches, relié, 230 × 165 mm. .

J. MOSSAY.

Σύμμεικτα. Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 10 (1996) 352 pages. ISSN 1105-1639.

Le premier article de ce volume, celui de Anna AVRAMEA, *Ανέκδοτα μολυβδόβουλλα από τα νησιά του Αργολικού κόλπου* (pp. 11-25), est une publication des sceaux byzantins du Musée de l'île de Spetses, où se trouvent déposés aussi les sceaux trouvés dans les autres îlots, actuellement inhabités du golfe d'Argolide. Il s'agit en tout de 21 sceaux datés du VIe au IXe s. Un de ceux-ci, le quatrième, entièrement illisible est attribué par l'A. à un évêque plutôt hypothétique de l'île d'Orobi. T. LOUNGIS, *The Decline of the Opsikian Domesticates and the Rise of the Domesticate of the Scholae* (pp. 27-36), signale que jusqu'au début du VIIIe s., la garde du Palais était pratiquement confiée aux troupes de l'Opsikion. A partir de cette date, ce sont les soldats des *Scholae Palatinae* qui ont pris le relais. Maria LONTSINI, *Άνθης, πατρίκιος, κόμης του Οψικίου, έκ προσώπου του Κωνσταντίνου Ε' (μέσα του ογδόου αιώνα)* (pp. 37-43), pense qu'un certain Anthès dont trois sceaux ont été publiés par Zacos et Vegleris est le même que l'Anthès mentionné dans la Vie de S. Étienne le Jeune. Ce personnage a été nommé gouverneur de la capitale byzantine lors d'une expédition de l'empereur Constantin V en Bulgarie après 751. Eleonora KOUNTOURA-GALAKI, *Η «Εικονοκλαστική» Notitia 3 και το λατινικό της πρότυπο* (pp. 45-73), note que la *Notitia* dite des iconoclastes reflète la situation après l'annexion de l'Illyricum par le patriarcat de Constantinople. Ce texte n'a pour source ni Hiéroclès, ni aucun autre texte officiel. Ses "fautes" en grec donnent à penser que le compilateur avait sous les yeux un original latin, dont l'usage n'était pas ecclésiastique, peut-être un des nombreux itinéraires latins du IVe s. Vasiliki BLYSIDOU, *Οι αποκλίσεις Γενεσίου και Συνέχειας Θεοφάνη για τη βασιλεία του Μιχαήλ Γ'* (pp. 75-103), attribue les visions différentes de ces deux textes à deux tendances politiques à l'intérieur de l'empire ; l'une justifiait sans condition l'assassinat de Michel III par Basile Ier, tandis que l'autre était plus réservée. N. OIKONOMIDES, *The Social Structure of the Byzantine Countryside in the First Half of the Xth Century* (pp. 105-125), partant du montant que les Péloponnésiens ont payé pour ne pas participer à une expédition en Italie, calcule la composition de la population à cette époque. Il conclut qu'il y avait beaucoup plus de moines que des soldats. L'image que le thème des Thracésiens devait présenter était analogue. Donc le déclin de la petite propriété a commencé déjà avant les empereurs macédoniens D'après J. DAVIS, *A Passage of the "Barbarograeca" Metaphrase of Niketas Choniates' Chronike Diegesis : Retranslated or Revised?*

(pp. 127-142), la traduction en question présente deux traditions manuscrites. La seconde n'est pas une nouvelle traduction mais plutôt une révision de la première traduction. Vasiliki GEORGIADOU, *Η παρουσία και το κίνημα του πιγκέρνη Αλεξίου Φιλανθρωπηνού στη Μικρά Ασία (1293-1295). Ένα παράδειγμα αποκλίσεων στις ιστορικές εκτιμήσεις του Παχυμέρη και του Γρηγορά* (pp. 143-162), explique les différences de ces deux auteurs au sujet de la révolte de Philanthropénos, de leurs idées politiques ; pour l'un c'était un désastre pour l'empire, pour l'autre son échec s'est avéré mauvais pour l'empire. I. DIMITROUKAS, *Το ταξίδι του ρήτορα Θωμά Μάγιστρου (1310). Μια επανεξέταση* (pp. 163-188), essaye de préciser davantage dans le temps l'envoi d'une ambassade de Thessaloniciens, avec le rhéteur Thomas en tête, pour plaider en faveur du stratège Chandrinos. Ce voyage doit être placé à la fin du mois d'octobre 1310. S. LAMPAKIS, *Οἱ «Κυανίδες νῆσοι» στὴν Ἱστορία τοῦ Κριτόβουλου* (pp. 189-193), note que la seule localisation des ces îles, citées par Critoboulos, est au nord de Ténédos. Eutychia PAPADOPOULOU, *A propos de l'Istoria di Romania de Martin Sanudo Torsello* (195-233), dans un long article, s'occupe des traductions de l'Histoire, rédigée en latin entre 1326 et 1343 par Marin Sanudo. En outre, elle étudie les rapports entre Byzance et l'Italie telles qu'elles sont enregistrées dans ce texte. L. MAVROMMATIS, *Σημειώσεις για την εικόνα του «Άλλου» στο Βυζάντιο* (pp. 235-239), se limite essentiellement à Anne Comnène où l'idée de l'altérité peut signifier «le barbare». Dans le même climat, Theoni BAZEOU-BARABAS, *Das Bild des "anderen" im Werk von Niketas Choniates. Das Beispiel von Peter und Asen* (pp. 283-293), est plus nuancée. Pour elle, Nicétas Choniatès différencie les peuples étrangers, sans tenir une position négative dès le départ envers les non Byzantins. Parfois, il reconnaît même aux Bulgares des qualités qu'il n'attribue pas aux Byzantins. Par contre, Katerina NIKOLAOU, *Η εικόνα του Κρούμμου : Εικόνα των «κακοφρόνων» Βουλγάρων* (pp. 269-282), pense que les auteurs byzantins traitent très mal Kroum, car à cette époque l'image que les Byzantins avaient des Bulgares était complètement négative. Cela est plutôt normal, car pour l'idéologie de l'époque toute personne qui s'opposait à l'empereur était d'office rejetée. Sofia PATOURA, *Η εγκατάσταση των Γότθων στη Θράκη και οι πρώτες στρατιωτικές αντιδράσεις* (pp. 241-267), est d'avis que les opérations déclenchées par Théodose Ier contre les Goths étaient provoquées par la crainte de voir l'armée et la société byzantine barbarisées par l'influence des Goths. Cette vision ne faisait toutefois pas l'unanimité à Byzance, d'où l'attitude des auteurs qui sont les uns pour et les autres contre cette initiative de l'empereur. finalement les deux articles de C. PAVLIKIANOV, *A Short Catalogue of the Slavic Manuscripts in Vatopedi* (pp. 295-325), et d'I. BILIARSKY, *Les manuscrits slaves de la bibliothèque du momanastère de Saint-Jean le Théologien à Patmos* (pp. 327-337), décrivent respectivement les trois manuscrits slaves du monastère de Vatopédi et les deux manuscrits slaves de Patmos.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

M. VARVOUNIS, *Όψεις της καθημερινής ζωής των Βυζαντινών από τα αγιολογικά κείμενα*, Athènes, Ηρόδοτος, 1996, 196 pages.

Ce volume groupe des renseignements concernant certains détails de la vie quotidienne byzantine, puisés dans les textes hagiographiques byzantins. L'A. procède par comparaison en utilisant aussi des témoignages d'autres sources de l'époque pour tirer des conclusions relatives à ce qu'il appelle l'*ethnologie byzantine*, domaine scientifique en pleine expansion pendant les dernières années en Grèce. Les informations tirées de sources non hagiographiques sont toutefois exploitées dans le cadre des catégories établies sur la base des indications fournies par les textes hagiographiques qui offrent ainsi le plan général du travail. Après une brève introduction, l'A. fait succéder des chapitres concernant la vie professionnelle, l'habitation, le mobilier, les ustensiles, la pêche, le calcul du temps, l'alimentation, mais aussi la composition sociale, la vie des enfants, les coutumes funèbres, la vie monastique, le culte populaire, la religiosité, la magie et la démonologie, tandis qu'il ne laisse pas en dehors de son cercle d'intérêts les questions métaphysiques, la pratique médicale, l'onomatologie, la lexicographie, etc.

L'étude constitue une première approche de la vie quotidienne à Byzance ; selon l'A., il faut continuer dans cette direction afin d'exploiter la totalité des textes hagiographiques existant, car ces textes constituent une source inépuisable d'informations relatives à la vie sociale de tous les jours durant l'époque byzantine.

I. SOTIRCHOS.

W. WITAKOWSKI, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Chronicle (known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin)*, Part III (= *Translated Texts for Historians*, 22), Liverpool, University Press, 1996, 149 page + 3 cartes. ISBN 0-85323-760-3.

La troisième partie de la Chronique syriaque de Pseudo-Denis de Tel-Mahre n'a pas encore fait l'objet d'une traduction dans une langue européenne ; l'A. de ce volume remédie à cette situation en la traduisant en anglais. Cette partie, qui couvre les années entre 488/9 et 577/8, puise surtout dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Jean d'Ephèse et peut-être dans d'autres Chroniques mineures. La traduction est précédée d'une courte, mais substantielle introduction qui reprend la question de l'auteur de la Chronique, peut-être un moine d'un monastère syriaque situé près de Zuquin, localité à chercher au nord d'Amid, l'actuel Diyarbakir en Turquie du sud-est. En outre, une courte note concernant la tradition manuscrite du texte complète les informations que l'A. met à la disposition de ses lecteurs. Un travail utile pour tout chercheur n'ayant pas d'accès linguistique aux textes rédigés en syriaque.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

E. GAMILLSCHEG, H. HUNGER, D. HARLFINGER und P. ELEUTERI, *Repertorium der grieschischen Kopisten. 800-1600.* 3. Teil : *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan.* A. von E. GAMILLSCHEG unter Mitarbeit von D. HARLFINGER und P. ELEUTERI, *Verzeichnis der Kopisten* ; B. erstellt von H. HUNGER, *Paläographische Charakteristika* ; C. *Tafeln*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997 (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik.* Bd III / 3 A, B, C). A : 251 pages ; B : 226 pages ; C : 344 fac-similés, 300 × 205 mm. Prix : 2450, Schillings autrichiens.

Après les bibliothèques d'Angleterre (1. Teil) et de France (2. Teil), la troisième partie du répertoire de copistes des manuscrits grecs de 800 à 1600 concerne Rome et le Vatican. Dans l'Avant-propos, le Professeur H. Hunger félicite les auteurs et spécialement le Prof. E. Gamillscheg pour le développement de l'entreprise. Chacun peut s'associer à ses sentiments. La quatrième partie du répertoire est en préparation ; elle concernera les bibliothèques de divers pays d'Europe centrale (Allemagne, Autriche, Suisse) et de Hollande. L'introduction (A, p. 21-23) signale que les savants paléographes D. Harlfinger (universités de Hambourg et de Berlin) et P. Eleuteri (université de Venise) ont examiné sur pièces une partie des manuscrits analysés. On sait quelle somme de déplacements et quelle exceptionnelle compétence requiert le repérage des formes particulières d'écriture qui caractérisent et personnalisent les scribes ayant copié en tout ou en partie des manuscrits. Depuis le commencement des travaux préparatoires du vol. 1, les progrès réalisés dans les domaines des études paléographiques et codicologiques et de l'histoire des manuscrits sont relativement considérables. Les auteurs y sont attentifs et les notices concernant Gérôme Tragudistis et Jean Sévéros ont été mises à jour. Le fascicule A, contient 615 notices ainsi que les index, qui concernent la personnalité et les activités des scribes. Le fascicule B relève des traits paléographiques qui caractérisent ces derniers ; le professeur H. Hunger (B, p. 7) signale toutefois que les notices paléographiques ont été omises pour 32 scribes byzantins ou humanistes parce que certaines identifications restent problématiques, par exemple, en ce qui concerne les Byzantins : Démétrios Kydones (n° 164), Georges Métochite (n° 110), Maxime Chrysoberges (n° 428), Prochore Kydones (n° 564) et Théodore Mélitoniote (n° 214), ainsi que six humanistes. Les fac-similés d'écriture contenus dans le fascicule C sont en noir et blanc aux dimensions des originaux, comme dans le volume précédent (Teil 2, C). Progressivement l'entreprise viennoise remplace l'ouvrage de Marie Vogel et V. Gardthausen, qui furent des pionniers. C'est assez dire l'importance des services que ce répertoire rend à toute recherche sur les manuscrits grecs copiés pendant la période byzantine et au début de l'époque métabyzantine.

J. MOSSAY.

P. SOTIROUDIS, *Κατάλογος ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων. Ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἰβήρων. Τόμος Α΄* (1-100), *Ἅγιον Ὄρος* (Mont Athos), 1998. 30 (α΄-λ΄) + 264 pages + 26 planches, 285 × 200 mm. Toilé.

Cet ouvrage met en évidence les modernisations qui sont en cours à Iviron sous l'impulsion du Supérieur, le Rév. P. Basile, qui signe l'avant-propos. P. Sotiroudis, professeur à l'université de Salonique, met à jour le catalogue des manuscrits grecs. On connaît sa compétence ; il a déjà catalogué avec L. Politis les manuscrits grecs de son université ; il a aussi décrit et publié les fragments de manuscrits en papier appartenant à sa faculté des Lettres. Son catalogue d'Iviron remplace celui de Sp. Lambros (1895) ; il suit le numérotage actuel et donne entre parenthèses la référence aux numéros correspondants de Lambros. Les notices sont conformes aux usages adoptés par le Prof. H. Hunger à Vienne, Mgr P. Canart au Vatican, Mme Annaclara Cataldi Palau à Gênes, etc. (1). Philologues, paléographes, codicologues, historiens et byzantinistes doivent des félicitations au Prof. Sotiroudis ; ils y joindront celles que mérite le Rév. P. Théologos, bibliothécaire d'Iviron. La compétence de ce moine égale son amabilité à l'égard des chercheurs qu'il accueille dans sa bibliothèque. En réorganisant celle-ci, il a identifié de nombreux fragments, parfois importants, égarés dans des reliures et ailleurs.

J. MOSSAY.

(1) Corriger p. [43], cod. 29 (17) opera Gregorii Nazianzeni : pars prior (sæc. 15) = f. 1-85 ; pars altera (sæc. 10) = f. 86-437.

OUVRAGES REÇUS PAR LA RÉDACTION DU 1er JUILLET AU 31 DÉCEMBRE 1997

Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου, Συγγράμματα, I : *Δέκα Λόγοι περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῶν. Πεντηκοντακέφαλον*, Paphos, Ἱερά Μονὴ Ἁγ. Νεοφύτου, 1996, 429 pages. ISBN 9963-614-00-0.

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής. Τεύχος τμήματος Φιλολογίας. Περιψοδος B, 6 (1996-1997), 284 pages.

Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου. Περιοδικόν σύγγραμμα, 47 (1996-97), 399 pages. ISSN 058-28-67.

Marie-France AUZÉPY, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* (= *Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*, 3), Aldershot, Variorum, 1997, 357 pages. ISBN 0-86078-637-4.

P. S. BARNWELL, *Kings, Courtiers and Imperium. The Barbarian West, 565-725*, Londres, Duckworth, 1997, 261 pages. ISBN 0-7156-2763-5.

G. BERTONIERE, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion : The Sundays Without a Commemoration* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 253), Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1997, 216 pages. ISBN 88-7210-315-0.

Bibliografia Românească Modernă (1831-1918), vol. IV : *(R-Z)*, Bucarest, Academiei Române, 1996, XXI + 871 pages. ISBN 973-27-0591-9.

Bysantinska Sällskapet. Bulletin, 15 (1997), 66 pages. ISSN 1102-674X

Cambridge Illustrated History. Ancient Greece, éd. par P. CARTLEDGE, Cambridge, University Press, 1998, XIX + 380 pages. ISBN 0-521-48196-1.

Hélène CONDYLIS-BASSOUKOS, *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès, traduction grecque (XIe siècle) du livre Kalîla wa-Dimna d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' (VIIIe siècle). Étude lexicologique et littéraire* (*Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres*, XI), Louvain, Peeters, 1997, XXXI + 239 pages. ISBN 90-6831-765-2 (Belgique) ; 2-87723-285-9 (France).

Th. DETORAKIS, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ ὀνειροκριτικά*, extrait de *Παλίμψηστον*, 16 (1996), pp. 65-74.

Dieu et le mal. Basile de Césarée, Grégoire de Nysse, Jean Chrysostome. Introd. Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU ; traductions Marie-Claude ROSSET

et Ch. BOUCHET (*Les Pères dans la Foi*, 69), Paris, Migne, 1997, Diffusion Brepols, 158 pages. ISSN 1152-1295. ISBN 2-908587-32-7.

A. DUCELLIER, *Οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ στὴν Ἑλλάδα (13ος-15ος αἰ.). Ἡ μετανάστευση μιᾶς κοινότητας*, trad. grecque par Cathérine NIKOLAOU (*Ὄψεις τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Κοινωνίας*, 15), Athènes, Ἵδρυμα Γουλανδρῆ-Χόρν, 1994, 51 pages. ISBN 960-7079-30-2.

IDEM, *Note sur les intérêts génois en mer Adriatique : le témoignage des archives ragusaines*, extrait de *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed età moderna. Studi in onore di GEO PISTARINO*, Gênes, Glauco Brigati, 1997, pp. 191-215.

IDEM, *La chrétienté orthodoxe face à l'islam à l'époque des croisades : poids du passé et conséquences à long terme*, extrait de *Itinéraire de Culture Croisées de Toulouse à Tripoli*, Tripoli, s.d. (1997), pp. 47-69.

J. EGEA, *La Crónica de Morea* (*Nueva Roma*, 2), Madride, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996, LXXVIII + 545 pages. ISBN 84-00-07615-X.

Ekklesiastikos Pharos / *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 78 (1996), 206 pages. ISSN 1018-9556.

Ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. El cielo en la tierra. Estudios sobre el monasterio bizantino (*Nueva Roma*, 3) éd. par P. BÁDENAS, A. BRAVO et Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN, Madride, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997, XII + 353 pages + 32 planches hors texte. ISBN 84-00-07650-8. NIPO 179-97-049-8.

Εγκυκλοπαιδικό Προσωπογραφικό Λεξικό Βυζαντινής Ιστορίας και Πολιτισμού, vol. II : *Ἅλφιος — Αντιοχεύς*, Athènes, Μέτρον/Ιωλκός, 1997, 255 pages. ISBN 960-426-060-X, set : 960-426-029-4.

Enrica FOLLIERI, *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di Filologia e di Paleografia* (*Storia e Letteratura. Raccolta di Studi e Testi*, 195), éd. par Augusta Acconcia LONGO, Lidia PERRIA, A. LUZZI, Rome, Storia e Letteratura, 1997, XXVIII + 554 pages. ISBN 88-900138-4-2.

Fortunatae. Revista Canaria de Filologia, Cultura y Humanidades Clasicas, 7 (1995), 412 pages. ISSN 1131-6810.

Véronique FRANÇOIS, *Bibliographie analytique sur la céramique byzantine à glaçure. Un nouvel outil de travail* (*Varia Anatolica*, 9), Paris, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes Georges Dumezil à Istanbul, 1997, 201 pages. ISBN 2-906053-44-9.

I. FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana*, VI, (*Università di Padova, Studi sull'Arte Paleocristiana e Bizantina*), Padova, Università di Padova, 1997, 85 pages + 32 planches hors texte.

Renata GENTILE MESSINA, *Un princeps puer del XII secolo : Alessio II Comneno in Niceta Coniata ed Eustazio di Tessalonica*, extrait de *Byzantina Mediolanensia*, 1996, pp. 187-198.

Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu / Bulletin du Musée National de Bosnie – Herzegovine à Sarajevo, Sarajevo, 1996, 447 pages.

Grégoire de Nazianze. Le Dit de sa vie, traduit, présenté et annoté par Alessandra LUKINOVICH, mis en vers libres par C. MARTINGAY. Introduction du Père Th. SPIDLIK, s. j., Genève, Ad Solem, 1997, 365 pages. ISBN 2-9400090-14-9.

Liz JAMES, *Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, Londres et N. York, Routledge, 1997, 207 pages. ISBN 0-415-14685-2.

D. KIDD, *ARATUS, Phaenomena* (= *Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries*, 34), Cambridge, University Press, 1997, XXIII + 590 pages. ISBN 0-521-58230-X.

E. KITZINGER, *I mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia*, V : *Il Duommo di Monreale. I mosaici delle navate* (*Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Monumenti*, 5), Palermo, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1996, 70 pages + 396 illustrations. ISSN 0393-0904.

Nike KOUTRAKOU, *Μεσαιωνικός Ελληνισμός και μεσαιωνικός κόσμος* ; extrait de *Ἑῶα καὶ Ἑσπέρια*, 2 (1994-96), pp. 71-82.

EADEM, *Diplomacy and Espionage : their Role in Byzantine Foreign Relations, 8th-10th Centuries*, extrait de *Graeco-Arabica*, 6 (1995), pp. 125-144.

D. LEWIS, *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Easter History*, éd. par P. J. RHODES, Cambridge, University Press, 1997, XII + 418 pages. ISBN 0-521-46564-8

Claudia LUDWIG, *Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild* (*Berliner Byzantinistische Studien*, 3), Francfort, Berlin, Berne, N. York, Paris et Vienne, Peter Lang, 1997, XXXII + 408 pages. ISSN 0945-3598. ISBN 3-631-48528-X.

G. MAKRIS, *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des Hl. Gregorios Dekapolites* (*mit einer Übersetzung der Vita* von M. CHRONZ) (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 17), Stuttgart et Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1997, XII + 170 pages. ISBN 3-8154-7740-9.

C. MANGO avec la collaboration de S. EFTHYMIADIS, *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon. Texte, Translation, and Commentary*, (*Dumbarton Oaks Texts*, 11 = *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 39), Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1997, XI + 244 pages. ISBN 0-88402-243-9.

E. MARCOS HIERRO, *Die byzantinisch-katalanischen Beziehungen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Chronik Jakobs I. von Katalonien-Aragon* (= *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 37), Munich, Institut für Byzantinistik, Neugriechische Philologie und Byzantinische Kunstgeschichte der Universität, 517 pages.

J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, Cambridge, University Press, 1997, XVI + 361 pages. ISBN 0-521-48019-1.

T. S. MILLER, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire*, 2ème éd., Baltimore et Londres, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, XXXV + 288 pages. ISBN 0-8018-2676-4 (papier) ; 0-8018-5657-4 (pbk.)

H. MOSTECKY, *Münzen zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Studien zur spätantiken Numismatik* (*Publications d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, 92 = *Numismatica Lovaniensia*, 16), Louvain-la-Neuve, Département d'Archéologie et d'histoire de l'art. Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc, 1997, IV + 196 pages + 16 planches hors texte.

Anna MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, éd. par E. KISLINGER et J. KODER, Vienne, Verlag Fassbaender, 1997, XXVIII + 260 pages + 128 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-900538-50-6.

ORTODOKSIA / *ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΙΑ*, juillet-septembre 1996, pp. 291-453 ; octobre-décembre 1996, pp. 454-688. ISSN 1106-4889.

Palaeobulgarica / *Staro-Bulgaristika*, 20 (1996), 108 pages. ISSN 0204-4021

C. PAPAÏOANNOU, *Εκκλησίες και Μοναστήρια της Σάμου*, Athènes, Πνευματικό Ίδρυμα Σάμου «Νικόλαος Δημητρίου», 1997, 244 pages avec illustrations. ISBN 960-85305-9-8.

Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ζ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, 6 vol. (= *Νέα Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη*, 11-14 (1994-1995), Rethymno, 1995. ISBN set 960-85675-0-5 ; vol. A1, pp. 1-512 + 38 planches hors texte, ISNB 960-85675-1-3 ; vol. A2, pp. 513-1060 + 143 planches hors textes, ISBN 960-85675-2-1 ; vol. B1, pp. 1-406 + 93 planches hors texte, ISBN 960-85675-3-X ; vol. B2, pp. 407-774 + 75 planches hors texte, ISBN 960-85675-4-8 ; vol. Γ1, pp. 1-462 + 7 planches hors texte, ISBN 960-85675-5-6 ; vol Γ2, pp. 463-824 + 37 planches hors texte, ISBN 960-85675-6-4.

Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά, 15 = *Varia*, VI (*Freie Universität Berlin. Byzantinisch-neugriechisches Seminar*), Bonne, Dr Rudolf Habelt Gmbh, 1997, 502 pages. ISBN 3-7749-2794-4.

Revue roumaine d'Histoire, 34,1-4 (1995), 420 pages ; 35,1-2 (1996), 128 pages. ISSN 0556-8072.

V. RUGGIERI, *Guillaume de Jerphanion et la Turquie de jadis*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1997, 261 pages, avec 245 illustrations en noir et blanc et 10 planches en couleurs

Adele SCAFURO, *The Forensic Stage. Settling Disputes in Graeco-Roman New Comedy*, Cambridge, University Press, 1997, XXI + 512 pages. ISBN 0-521-44383-0.

G. SCHRAMM, *Ein Damm bricht. Die römische Donaugrenze und die Invasionen des 5.-7. Jahrhunderts im Lichte von Namen und Wörtern* (*Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, 100), Munich, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997, 397 pages. ISBN 3-486-56262-2.

Sonja SCHÖNAUER, *Untersuchungen zum Steinkatalog des Sophrosyne-Gedichtes des Meliteniotes mit kritischer Edition der Verse 1107-1247*

(= *Meletemata*, 6) Wiesbaden, Beerenverlag, 1996, XX + 150* + 30 pages + 4 planches hors texte.

W. SEIBT et Marie Luise ZARNITZ, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Vienne, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997, 231 pages. ISBN 3-7001-2627-7.

Slovo, 44-46 (1994-1996), 280 pages. + *Prilozi* pp. 281-436 ISSN 0583-6255

Claudia SODE, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin II* (= *Freie Universität Berlin. Byzantinisch-neugriechisches Seminar. Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά*, 14), Bonne, Dr. Rudolf Habelt Gmbh, 1997, 338 pages + 25 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-7749-2793-6.

Studii si Cercetări de Numismatică Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan", 10 (1993) [paru en 1996], 221 pages. ISSN 0081-8887.

South East European Monitor, 5 (Vienne, 1995), 77 pages. ISSS 1023-2575.

The Cambridge Companion to Virgil, éd. par Ch. MARTINDALE, Cambridge, University Press, 1997, XVII + 379 pages. ISBN 0-521-49539-3 relié ; 0-521-49885-6 couverture papier.

Theodore SPANDOUNES, On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors, éd. et traduction anglaise par D. NICOL, Cambridge, University Press, 1997, XXIX + 161 pages. ISBN 0-521-58510-4.

The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature, éd. par Susanna MORTON BRAUND et Ch. GILL, Cambridge, University Press, 1997, X + 266 pages. ISBN 0-521-47391-8.

M. TOURTOGLOU, *Τὰ «τυχηρὰ παίγνια» στὰ βυζαντινὰ νομικὰ κείμενα*, extrait de *Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, 5 (1996), pp. 97-100.

IDEM, *Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τῆς φερομένης ὡς «Νεαρᾶς 26» τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Β' Παλαιολόγου*, extrait de *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 70 (1995), pp. 65-87.

IDEM, *Ἡ ἐξασφάλιση τῶν δικαιωμάτων στὰ μεταβυζαντινὰ δικαιοπρακτικὰ ἔγγραφα. Ἐπιβιώσεις ἀρχαίων Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων*, extrait de *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 71 (1996), pp. 115-137.

Venezia Arti Bollettino del Dipartimento di Storia e Critica delle Arti "Giuseppe Mazzariol" dell'Università di Venezia, 9 (1995), 211 pages dont plusieurs illustrées.

M. VINZENT, *Markell von Ankyra, Die Fragmente der Brief an Julius von Rom* (= *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, 39), Leyden, N. York et Cologne, Brill, 1997, 192 pages. ISSN 0920-623x.

Marie Luise ZARNITZ, cf. W. SEIBT.

Foto 1. — Tomba su Karacören.

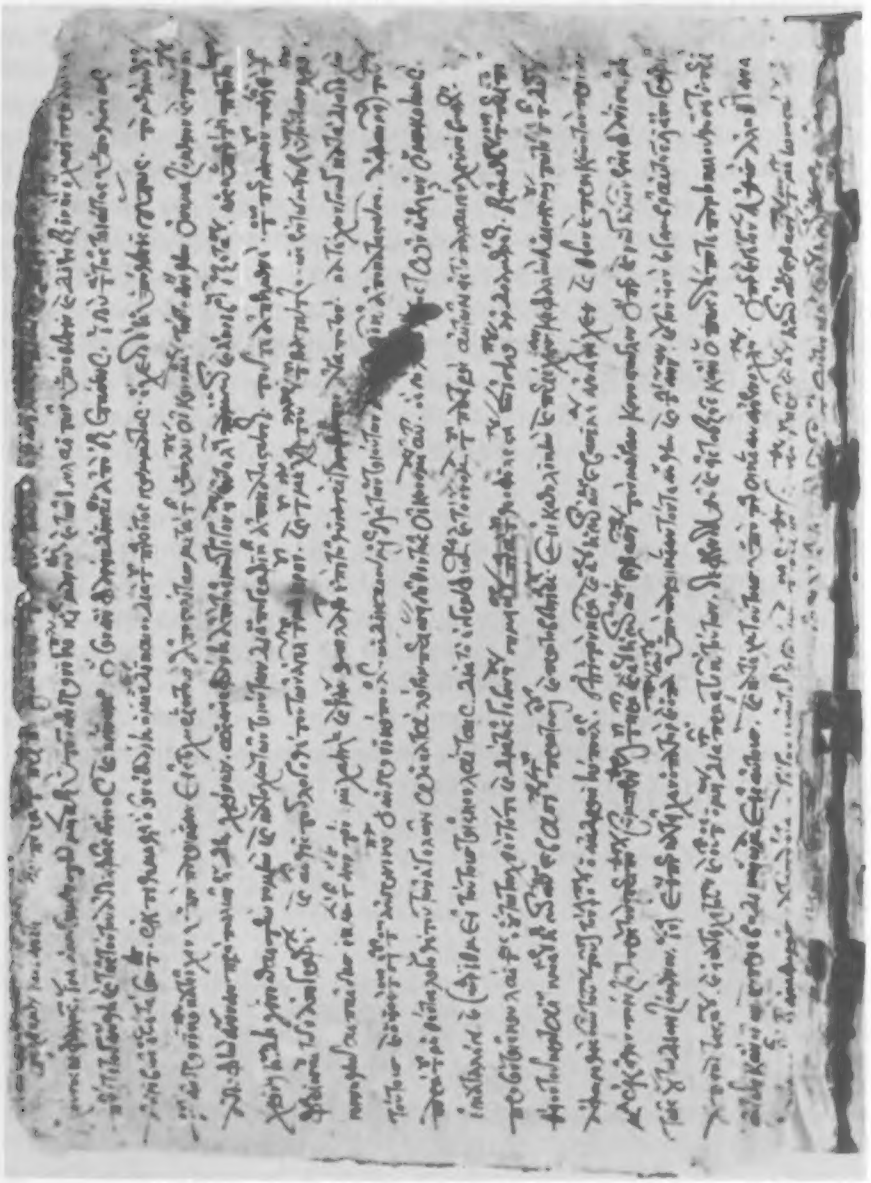


TABLE DES MATIÈRES

In Memoriam

J. SCHAMP, *Jules Auguste LABARBE (12 février 1920 - 7 août 1997)* 7

Articles

D. BUCK, *The Reign of Arcadius in Eunapius'* Histories 15
J. GEYSSEN, *Presentations of Victory on the Theodosian Obelisk Base* 47
C. S. LIGHTFOOT, *The Survival of Cities in Byzantine Anatolia : The Case of Amorium* 56
Florence MEUNIER, *Le voyage imaginaire dans le roman byzantin du XIIème siècle* 72
B. NEIL, *The* Lives *of Pope Martin I and Maximus the Confessor : Some Reconsiderations of Dating and Provenance* 91
G. PEERS, *The Sosthenion Near Constantinople : John Malalas and Ancient Art* 110
Ph. ROUSSEAU, *Procopius's* Buildings *and Justinian's Pride* 121
V. RUGGIERI, *Λεβισσός-Μάκρη-Μαρκιανὴ e S. Nicola : Note di topografia Licia* 131
M. VARVOUNIS, *Une pratique de magie byzantine et la prise de Pergame par les Arabes* 148

Documents

M. BRAUNLIN et J. NESBITT, *Selections from a Private Collection of Byzantine Bullae* 157
Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN et P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA, *Un Gramma inédito relativo a algunas propiedades en Calcídica (ca. 1342-46 ?)* 183

Mémoires

Tia M. KOLBABA, *Fighting for Christianity Holy War in the Byzantine Empire* 194

Notes

L. CANFORA, *Il «Reading Circle» intorno a Fozio* 222
Florence MEUNIER, *D'un roman à un autre* 224
J. MOSSAY, *Œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze à Sofia* 226
B. ROCHETTE, *«Dans la langue de nos pères»* 231

Bibliographie

1. *Comptes rendus*

N. DELIERNEUX, c. r. de P. BOULHOL, *'ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΟΣ. La scène de reconnaissance dans l'hagiographie antique et médiévale*, Aix-en-Provence, Université de Provence, 1996, 252 pages 235

EADEM, c. r. de Ch. HÖGEL (éd.), *Metaphrasis. Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, Oslo, (The Research Council of Norway. *KULTs skriftserie*, 59), 1996, 82 pages 237

Nike KOUTRAKOU, c. r. de J.-N. GUINOT, *L'Exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1995, 879 pages 238

Margarete LUY-DÄSCHLER, c. r. de J. DJURIĆ, *Le crépuscule de Byzance*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1996, 430 pages + 18 placches hors texte 242

A. MEKHITARIAN, c. r. de *EK 8184* (Projet international de sauvetage scientifique des Kellia), II : *Explorations aux Qouçoûr er-Roubâ'iyât*, Louvain, Peeters, 1994, XII + 554 pages 244

2. *Chronique*

P. YANNOPOULOS, *Ceramica byzantina* 246

3. *Notices bibliographiques* par B. COULIE, J. MOSSAY, I. SOTIRCHOS, Laurence TUERLINCKX, P. YANNOPOULOS 250

4. *Ouvrages reçus par la Rédaction* par P. YANNOPOULOS 273

Table des matières 279